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WILHELM R. VALENTINER



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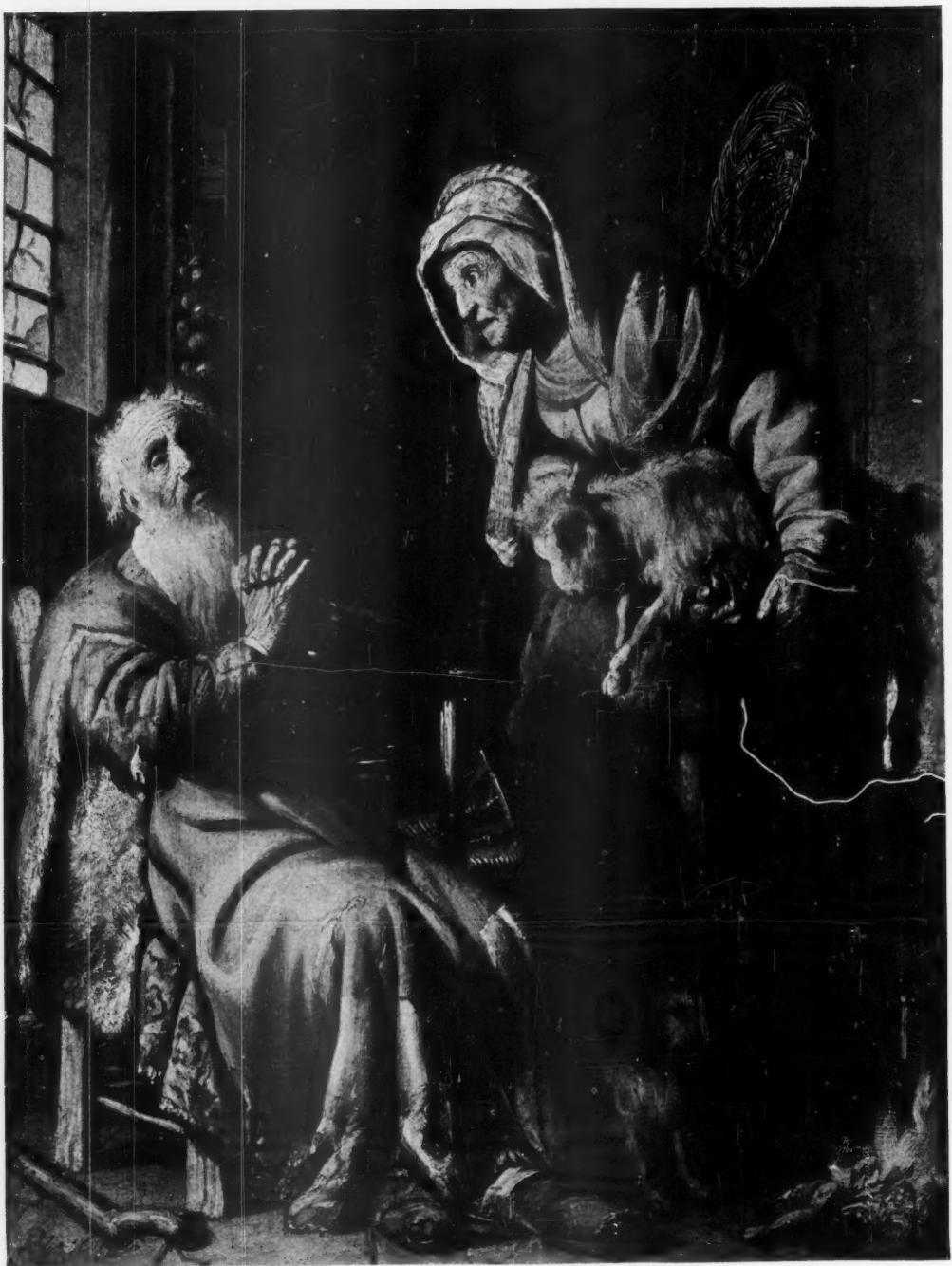


Fig. 1. REMBRANDT : TOBIAS AND HIS WIFE.

In private possession.

ART IN AMERICA · AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY · VOLUME I NUMBER 1 · JANUARY MCMXIII

THE EARLIEST DATED PAINTING BY REMBRANDT OF THE YEAR 1626 · BY WILHELM BODE

WHEN, about ten years ago, I endeavored to identify the youthful works of Rembrandt, and to trace clearly and in detail the development of the young artist up to the time of his removal to Amsterdam in 1631–32, the earliest paintings I could adduce were a few works dated 1627, of which the Paul in Captivity (now in the Stuttgart Gallery) already had been known from the time of its sale at the dispersal of the Pommersfelden collection in Paris, 1867. All these youthful works, even the earliest of 1627, show the characteristic quality of Rembrandt's art—the strong light and dark in distinct masses. They are differentiated to a marked degree thereby from the paintings by his teacher, Pieter Lastman, to whom, on the other hand, he is still closely related at many points, in his choice of motive, his composition, his costumes, and his accessories. He, in fact, by preference and perhaps from feelings of gratitude, occasionally held to his teacher's example even up to his old age, albeit no other artist was so ready and diverse and, at the same time, so profound in the moulding of his ideas.

Several years ago, a picture that came from the Hague appeared under Rembrandt's name in a private collection at Prague. It represented the prophet Balaam (Fig. 2) and not only in conception, composition, type, and even drawing, but in lighting as well, showed as clearly as possible its derivation from Lastman. Since it did not seem to bear a signature, the picture, now in the collection of the late Mr. Ferdinand Hermann of New York, was doubted on various sides, with great injustice, since a couple of other pictures of quite similar character and with the same strong Lastman influence, are both signed and dated, and since the signature and date (as I have been told) have been found also on this picture in the meantime. One of the paintings in the same style containing many small figures, and representing David bringing the head

of Goliath to Saul before an assembled company, was brought to me from England three or four years ago for authentication.¹ The signature is so clearly legible that its genuineness as a Rembrandt autograph is placed beyond question, while the less easily deciphered date appears to be 1627. In comparison with the Balaam, this picture is free in handling and more skilful in grouping, while the drawing is fluently, almost sketchily executed.

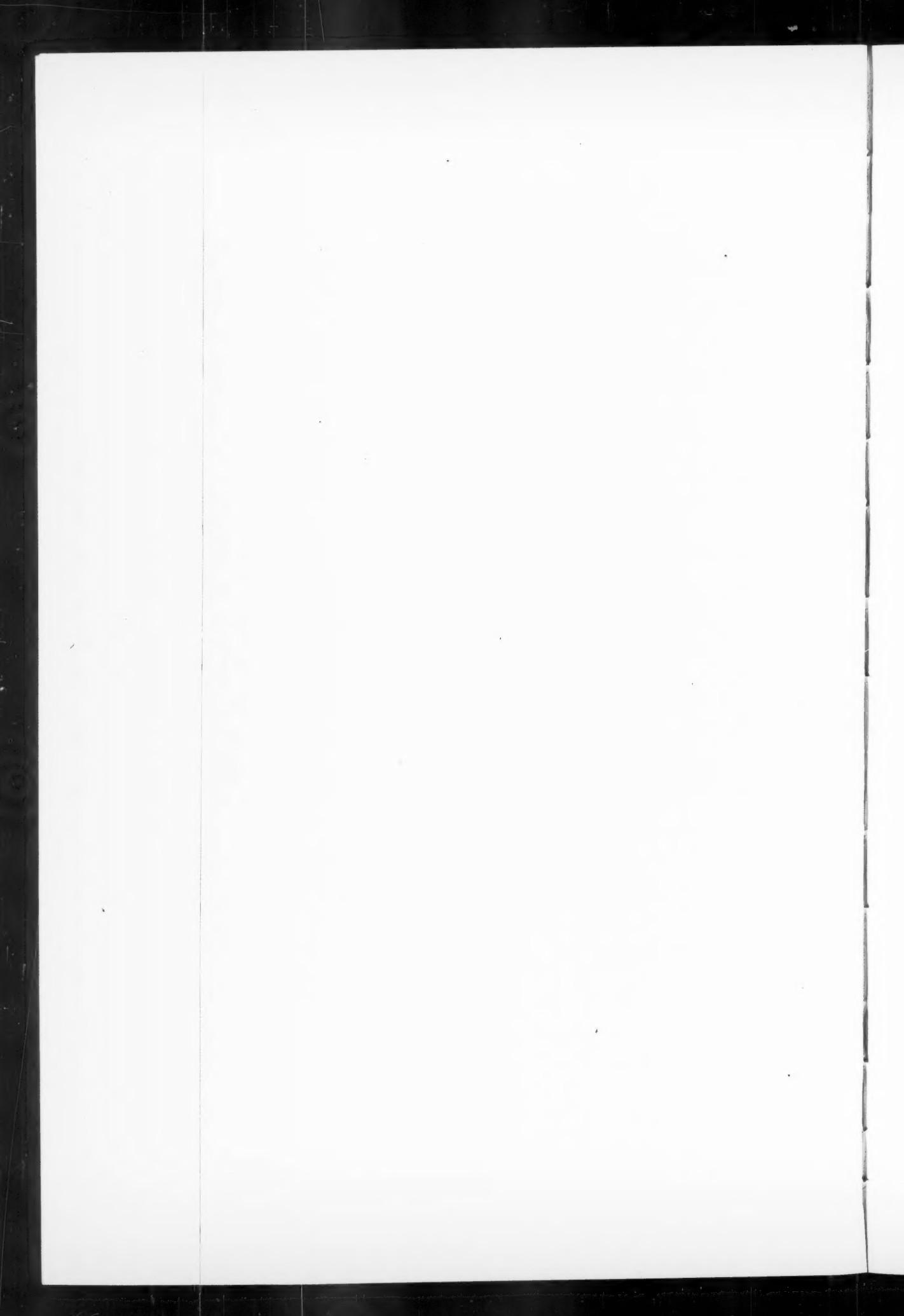
Another picture, the old Tobias and his wife who brings to him the stolen goat, is at present in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum for restoration at the hands of Professor Hauser. (Fig. 1.) It belongs to a collector outside of Germany whose name has not been made known to me. Through the cleaning Rembrandt's monogram (contracted to R H without the L as yet) and the date 1626 were revealed. As there can be no doubt about the reading of this date, it is most probable that the reading of the same date on the Balaam, which is less clearly visible, is correct, especially as the two paintings correspond in execution. The Tobias and the Balaam are, therefore, the first certain works of this year and the earliest authenticated works by Rembrandt's hand. The Tobias conforms to his whole style. It is still very immature, in places positively weak, and shows throughout the influence of his teacher Lastman. Although the scene is placed in an interior room, he does not as yet consider giving more charm to the composition by the arrangement of light and shade, but illuminates his figure with full, flat daylight. The figures, although in sentiment they have the intensity of his later works, are also drily and vacantly expressed by the thick plastered pigment. Rembrandt reproduced the motive nearly twenty years later in a small picture which is in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. How empty, how stiff and inexpressive, how weak in drawing, and immature in conception this picture of 1626 appears beside the similar performance of 1645! But, like the two pictures mentioned above, it is in the highest degree valuable to us, enabling us to become acquainted with the course of the artist's development; to see how he first by gradual degrees overturned the teachings of a worthy, but undistinguished artist; how he thence found his own path to a wholly individual and original art which has never been surpassed in pictorial effect, or equalled in emotional depth.

In connection with these earlier works of the artist's youth, let

1. Reproduced in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1909.



Fig. 2. REMBRANDT: BALAAM AND THE ASS.
Collection of the late Mr. Ferdinand Hermann, New York.



me say a word concerning the value and authenticity of these early pictures by Rembrandt. While a few decades ago they might have been bought for very little, even though they were signed, at the present many times as much would be offered and paid, as well, for the least distinguished of these little study heads. This does not imply a corresponding artistic worth; and on that very account such prices are altogether unjustifiable, since, either as practice or to fulfill commissions, the skilful pupils of Rembrandt's studio, especially Gerard Dou, frequently reproduced just such pictures, and could make copies that very easily deceive the observer. Nearly every year such copies come to light, and, if the originals were not known, they would unquestionably, or at least with great probability, be taken for Rembrandt's own work, and every once in so often an original by the master appears, for which some such school copy long has stood. In this way, a so-called copy of a portrait of the father of Rembrandt was sold quite cheaply a year ago in a London auction, and, after the cleaning, it turned out to be the signed original of the excellent picture in the Neumann gallery in London, which, up to that time, had generally been considered genuine. A similar situation occurred earlier in regard to the portrait of the artist with a poodle, in the Schickler Collection in Paris, when it was placed side by side with the original in the Petit Palais in Paris, of the date 1631, and to the portrait supposed to be of Rembrandt's Sister in the possession of Mr. W. Alexander of London, which is a school copy after the picture in the Stockholm gallery, and to the various school reproductions of the big Flora in the Duke of Buccleugh's possession. Even a thoroughly undistinguished picture of Rembrandt's very earliest period, the Scholar, has found its copyist, since a picture in a private collection in Vienna, which up to this time has been considered an original, in all probability will be degraded to the rank of a copy by Gerard Dou, after the painting in the possession of Mr. Fairfax Murray in London.

PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS BY TIEPOLO IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM · BY JOSEPH BRECK

AMONG the most important paintings by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo in this country must surely be counted the three works purchased in 1871 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, representing The Crowning with Thorns, The Sacrifice of Abraham, and The Investiture of Bishop Harold von Hochheim as Duke of Franconia, this last, a study for the well-known decorative painting in Würzburg. They have received, however, but little attention from students of this great master of the Venetian school in the eighteenth century. Molmenti¹ does not mention the paintings in question, and Eduard Sack,² Tiepolo's latest biographer, although he includes them in his list, betrays his unfamiliarity with the pictures by several inaccurate statements. Under these conditions, the following notes upon the three paintings purchased in 1871 may be welcome. To these comments I shall add a brief description of the drawings by Giovanni Battista and Domenico Tiepolo in the Museum's collection, and notes upon two unpublished paintings, one an original sketch by Giovanni Battista, and the other, a school copy of a lost original by the same artist, which form part of the post-Gothic section of the Georges Hoentschel Collection, presented to the Museum in 1907 by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.

PAINTINGS BY GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO

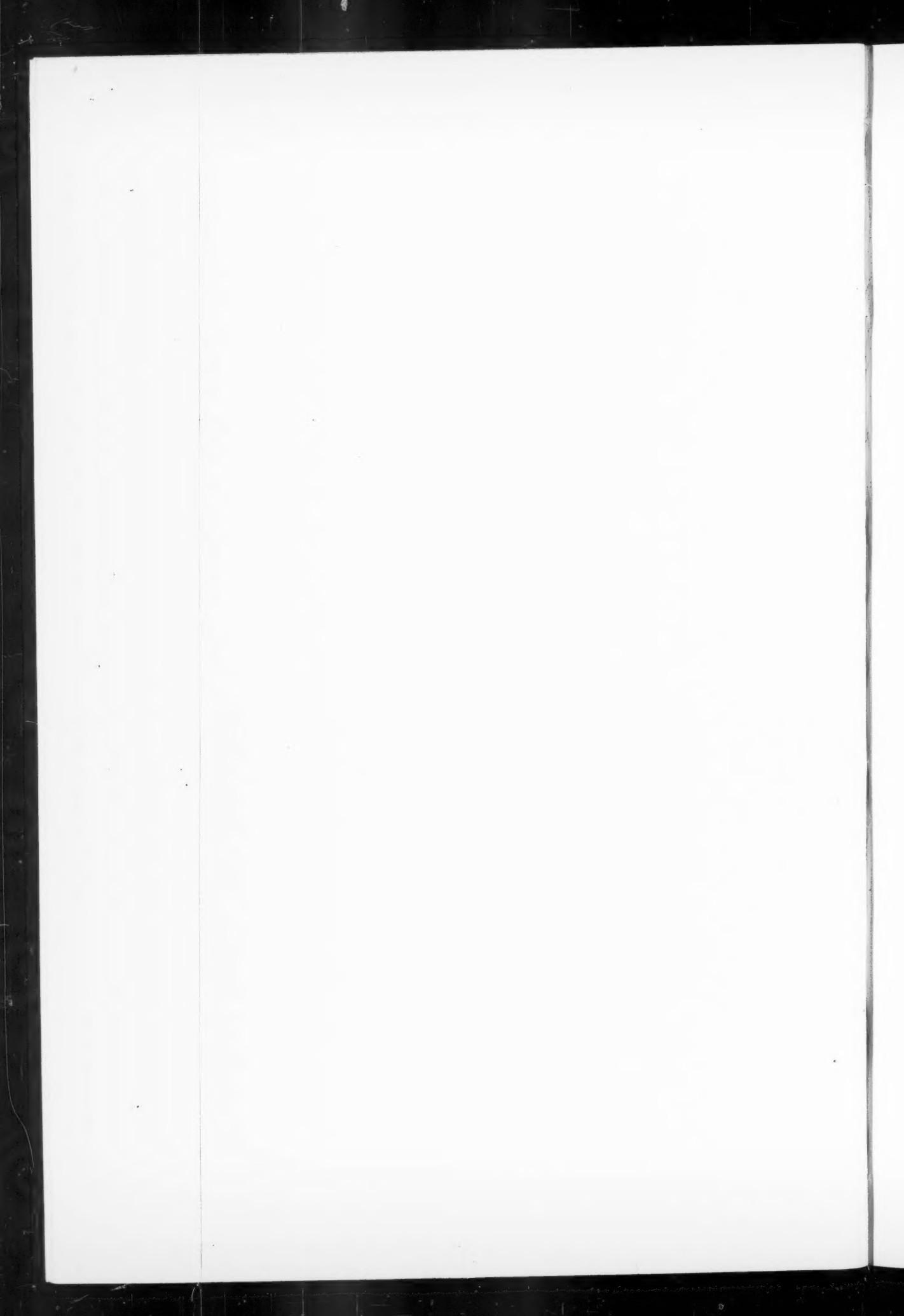
1. THE INVESTITURE OF BISHOP HAROLD VON HOCHHEIM AS DUKE OF FRANCONIA
BY THE EMPEROR FREDERICK I. (Fig. 3)
On canvas. h. 27½ in., w. 19½ in.

This painting, which is designated in the Museum's Catalogue of Paintings, edition of 1905, with addenda, No. 96, as the Triumph of Ferdinand III, a title repeated by Mr. Berenson in his Venetian Painters, is clearly an elaborate study for the fresco in the Kaisersaal of the Residenz at Würzburg representing the investiture of Bishop Harold von Hochheim as Duke of Franconia. The study differs from the finished painting in several particulars. The architectural background is given greater importance in the sketch; many of the secondary figures are different; and two musicians, one a trumpeter and the other a fifer, have been substituted for

1. P. Molmenti: G. B. Tiepolo, *La sua Vita e le sue Opere*. Milan, 1909.
2. E. Sack: *Giambattista und Domenico Tiepolo, ihr Leben und ihre Werke*. Hamburg, 1910.



Fig. 3. GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO:
THE INVESTITURE OF BISHOP HAROLD VON HOCHHEIM AS DUKE OF FRANCONIA.
Metropolitan Museum, New York.



the dog who appears in the foreground at the right in the fresco. The hastiest comparison, however, will establish the intimate connection between the two paintings. The Würzburg fresco is signed and dated 1752; the study in the Metropolitan may consequently be assigned to about 1751-52. It was purchased by the Museum in 1871, having been acquired in France. Few paintings have more charm than this study, which appeals in no uncertain way to all those who love the luxurious blond harmonies of Tiepolo's color, his mellow light and luminous shade woven together in intricate pattern, his spontaneity and superb assurance.

Since the dimensions are the same, I presume it is to this study, which is not described elsewhere in his book, that Dr. Sack¹ refers when he credits the Museum in his list of paintings by Giovanni Battista (No. 555) with a painting entitled S. Ferdinand III, the Conqueror of the Moors, stating that the picture bearing this title in the Museum's collection is in reality a sketch for the Budapest painting of S. James with the Banner. No such picture, however, is owned by the Museum.

2. CHRIST CROWNED WITH THORNS. (Fig. 4).
On canvas. h. 30 in., w. 34 in.

This is a replica of a painting in the Seeger Collection at Berlin. There is a companion piece representing Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane in the same collection. A workshop copy of the Crowning with Thorns is said to be in the Museum at Vicenza. The painting in the Metropolitan, which was acquired in France, having formerly been in the collection of the Duchesse de Berri, is accepted as the work of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo by Berenson and Sack. The prevailing tone is a rich orange-brown, a golden setting, as it were, for the jewel-like passages of light color, the blue sky, the red and silver banners, the yellow robes of the figures at the left, the blue and white mantle of Christ and the marble columns, warmed by the sunlight of late afternoon.

3. THE SACRIFICE OF ABRAHAM. (Fig. 5)
On canvas. h. 16¾ in. w. 20½ in.

The art of Tiepolo in its most engaging aspect is exemplified in this brilliant little sketch. The silvery flesh tones of the boy's nude body contrast effectively with the red and white of his draperies and the autumnal yellow-brown of Abraham's gown. The angel at

1. E. Sack; Op. cit. p. 184, Nos. 303, 304.

the left, a particularly gracious figure seen against the turquoise sky, introduces a passage of cool and exquisite color with the pearl gray of his robe, which is balanced at the right by the shadowy, blue-green of the foliage. This painting was purchased by the Museum in 1871; it was formerly in the collection of the Duchesse de Berri.

That Domenico Tiepolo had his great moments I grant readily, but I hesitate to follow Dr. Sack in attributing this masterly little sketch to the talented son of Giovanni Battista. In listing this painting among Domenico's works for the year 1753, Dr. Sack gives as his authorities Mr. Berenson's Venetian Painters and an article by Paul Leroi, *Italia farà da se*, which appeared in *L'Art*, 1876, vol. IV, p. 320. As to Mr. Berenson, I have failed to find any edition of Venetian Painters in which this painting is attributed otherwise than to Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. The article by M. Leroi contains a casual reference to the picture. The writer remarks that he was familiar with two paintings acquired in France by the Metropolitan Museum, one of these was the work of the elder Tiepolo, and the other, representing the Sacrifice of Abraham, was by Domenico Tiepolo. The painting is attributed in Museum's Catalogue, No. 105, to Giovanni Battista Tiepolo.

4. AN ALLEGORY. Sketch for a ceiling decoration. (Fig. 6)
On canvas. h. 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. w. 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

This appears to be an early study for the ceiling painting originally in the Palazzo Barbarigo, Venice, representing, according to Sack, "Nobility and Virtue," or, according to Molmenti, "Prudence and Fortitude." It dates about 1740. Another sketch for this painting, which is virtually repeated on the ceiling of the Palazzo Caiselli in Udine and in the Villa Cordellina, Montecchio, exists in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum in Milan. I believe the sketch in the Metropolitan to be earlier, a first thought as it were. There are many differences between it and the finished painting. In the sketch, the seated figure holds the statuette in her right hand instead of in her left, and the attendant Virtue, holding her spear awkwardly away from her body, is less gracefully posed. The despairing figure in the foreground, although of the same importance in the composition, is materially different in pose. The supplementary figures indicated in the background of the sketch have been omitted from the final version. The authorship of Giovanni Battista is attested, apart from the obvious connection of the sketch



Fig. 4. GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO: CHRIST CROWNED WITH THORNS.
Metropolitan Museum, New York.



Fig. 5. GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO: THE SACRIFICE OF ABRAHAM.
Metropolitan Museum, New York.

with the Barbarigo painting, by the free and masterly character of the brush work, the characteristic color scheme, and the boldness and fertility of the invention. As it has been said, this sketch was included in that part of the Hoentschel Collection given to the Museum in 1907 by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. It is now exhibited in the Wing of Decorative Arts, Gallery F. 14.

SCHOOL OF GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO

5. A VISION OF THE TRINITY

On canvas. h. 29 $\frac{7}{8}$ in., w. 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Surrounded by angels, God the Father, Christ bearing his Cross, and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, appear in a vision to a kneeling Pope (S. Gregory the Great?) who folds his hands in prayer. This painting, part of the same collection as No. 4, is also exhibited in Gallery F. 14. I consider it a good workshop copy in reduced size of a lost original of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. According to Dr. Sack, another old copy¹ on wood, perhaps by Urlaub, is in Munich in the collection of Professor Alois Hauser, who obtained it from a dealer in Würzburg. It is tempting to see in our piece a study by Giovanni Battista for the lost picture, but heaviness of color and execution makes this impossible.

Before passing on to a discussion of the drawings by Tiepolo in the Museum, I may add here that Dr. Sack attributes to the elder Tiepolo a painting of Esther before Ahasuerus (Fig. 6), given to the Museum in 1894 by Mr. H. G. Marquand. This is an obvious error in attribution, which, I am sure, Dr. Sack would be the first to admit were he to see the picture. The figures are short and dumpy, the coloring conventional, and the composition quite without Tiepolo's cleverness. In the Museum's catalogue, this painting, No. 229, is accredited to Sebastiano Ricci. This much, at least, is certain, the painting is not by Tiepolo nor even in his manner.

It is perhaps not generally known that the Metropolitan Museum possesses a fairly large collection of drawings by old masters of different schools. In 1880 Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt presented the Museum with six hundred and seventy drawings, and a few years later, in 1887, Mr. Cephas G. Thompson gave a smaller collection of about two hundred drawings. A brief and uncritical

1. E. Sack: Op. cit. No. 348. The painting is called here, "The vision of S. Bonaventura," but as the kneeling figure is clearly a Pope this can hardly be correct.



Fig. 6. GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO:
AN ALLEGORY. Sketch for a ceiling painting.
Metropolitan Museum, New York.



Fig. 6. ATTRIBUTED TO SEBASTIANO RICCI: ESTHER BEFORE AHASUERUS.
Metropolitan Museum, New York.

catalogue of the combined collections was published by the Museum in 1895. The Vanderbilt collection, it is stated in an Introductory Note to the Catalogue, was formed by Count Maggioli of Bologna in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and was gradually increased by additions from the collections of Signor Marietta, Professor Angelini, Dr. Guastalla and Mr. James Jackson Jarves, from whom it was purchased by Mr. Vanderbilt. Despite an abundance of great names attached to the drawings, only a small proportion of the collection has much artistic importance. The Italian schools, however, of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries are comparatively well represented. Other drawings, several of great interest, have been purchased by the Museum from time to time within recent years. Among these is a page from a sketch book with two drawings by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, acquired lately from the collection of Dr. J. P. Richter. The Catalogue of the Vanderbilt-Thompson collection gives nine drawings to the elder Tiepolo. With two exceptions, however, these drawings, Nos. 363, 365-372, have little or no connection with Tiepolo. No. 370 I consider an original work by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, and No. 372 may safely be assigned to Domenico Tiepolo.

DRAWINGS BY GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO

I. ALLEGORICAL SUBJECT.

Pen Drawing with bistre washes, heightened with white. On slightly tinted paper. h. $11\frac{5}{8}$ in. w. $10\frac{1}{8}$ in.

The drawing represents a bearded deity, Neptune (?), seated on a cloud, and embracing a nude woman who stands at his side. He is attended by a child who holds up his mantle; two vases are at his feet and projecting behind him, is a two-pronged fork. The drawing is signed on the back *Gio: Batta: Tiepolo Veneto*. It has been rebacked, however, hiding the signature. When recently exhibited the drawing was labelled Domenico Tiepolo. It is No. 370 (Vanderbilt gift) in the catalogue, where it is ascribed to Giovanni Battista Tiepolo.

2. (a) SAINT VINCENT FERRIER. (b) AN ECCLESIASTIC SAYING MASS.

Pen drawings with bistre washes. Preparation in red chalk. On white paper, watermarked **FAVSTINO . CALCINARDI** h. $19\frac{1}{2}$ in. w. $28\frac{2}{3}$ in. The two drawings are on one side of a sheet of paper, presumably a double page from a sketch book. On the other side is a pen and sepia wash drawing, a view of the Grand Canal, by Canaletto (signed Canal.)

The youthful Dominican saint is represented holding a book and a stalk of lilies in his right hand, while he raises his left hand as if in exhortation. He wears the habit and long cloak of his order. Above his head, intersecting the circumference of his halo, appears

a flame of fire. Wings are lightly sketched in behind the figure. The drawing on the opposite page represents an ecclesiastic saying Mass. He faces to the left, bending over the altar which is seen from the side. The two drawings were purchased in 1912 from the collection of Dr. J. P. Richter. The Museum's official attribution to Giovanni Battista Tiepolo follows that of Dr. Richter. The drawings can not be said, however, to represent Tiepolo at his best nor in a particularly characteristic phase.

DRAWING BY DOMENICO TIEPOLO

1. *Recto: ALLEGORICAL SUBJECT. Verso: FIGURE OF A MAN.*

On white paper. h. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. w. $9\frac{7}{8}$ in. Pen drawing with bistre washes on the recto; bistre wash drawing on verso.

In the Allegory, a nude man, with his back turned, is represented seated on a cloud, attended by a little child. At the left is a nude woman with butterfly wings, and at the right the head and shoulders of a male figure with wings, who rests his arms in a cloud-bank. The drawing on the verso is a study, summarily executed in bistre washes of approximately one value, of a bearded man, standing, dressed in loose robes and a turban; at the right are slight indications of foliage. These drawings, labelled Domenico Tiepolo when recently exhibited, were ascribed in the Catalogue, under No. 372 (Vanderbilt Collection), to Giovanni Battista Tiepolo.

A NATIVITY AND ADORATION OF THE SCHOOL
OF PIETRO CAVALLINI IN THE COLLECTION OF
MR. JOHN G. JOHNSON · BY BERNHARD BERENSON

ON a boat-shaped mattress, perilously balanced on the steep ledge of a bluish rock, the Virgin reclines, looking to her left at the coffin-like crib in which lies the Holy Child wrapt in swaddling clothes. By the crib lie an ox and an ass of unusually small size. An angel clings to the right edge of the rock, looking at the Virgin, and on the corresponding side is another angel, while, above the first, a third angel, with a face of ecstasy greets the rising sun. The Star of Bethlehem is suspended in the air over the Virgin's head, and the three Magi, of somewhat smaller size, kneel at her feet. The eldest in front, with his crown thrown down, holds a precious casket in his hands, while the other two gaze at

the Star, one of them pointing at it. Under the edge of the glacier-like rock, two women are bathing the Holy Child in a goblet-shaped marble bowl, while on their left St. Joseph, with his flowered staff, sits crouching in tearful contemplation. Opposite him, two shepherds look up at the Star, while their sheep browse about their feet. The picture is on wood, with an arched top, and is $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and 12 inches wide. (Fig. 7).

This little panel, iconographically still extremely Byzantine, and Byzantine with marked classical elements, is, nevertheless, unmistakably of Italian origin, and thus owes its interest to the fact that it is an important document in the history of Italian painting just before Giotto's time. Such documents are rare, and time will be well spent in seeking to extract from it all the information it may yield about that little known period.

The Byzantine elements are the first to strike the attention—the term Byzantine here implying nothing more controversial than would be implied by the expression "pre-Giottesque." Thus, the goblet-shaped marble bowl in which the Child is being washed, is almost always present in pre-Giottesque treatments of the subject, and, so far as I am aware, always present in the treatment by actual Byzantine artists or craftsmen. The boat-shaped mattress, on which the Virgin is reclining, belongs to the same category, but most Byzantine of all is the heavenly body appearing in the sky. In this case our artist seems to have forgotten the original intention of the motive, for he treats it as the rising sun, placing the Star below it, in the sky, over the Virgin's head. In real Byzantine art, however, we see that this vast disc, or arc of a disc, is meant to be the Star itself, for it emits stout bamboo-like beams which reach down to the Child. A readily remembered instance is the mosaic at the Martorana at Palermo, and a similar example is to be seen in a Byzantine ivory triptych, once belonging to Lord Carmichael, one of the sections of which is here reproduced. (Fig. 8).

This ivory is, in fact, from the purely iconographical point of view, the nearest approach I can find to our panel. The Virgin reclines, as in our painting, on a boat-shaped mattress, with the Child in a crib at her side, while Magi bring offerings and angels stand to right and left adoring. Below, again, the two women are washing the Infant in a goblet-shaped bowl, and Joseph sits meditating. Only, the composition is differently oriented, and instead



Fig. 7. SCHOOL OF CAVALLINI: NATIVITY AND ADORATION.

Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.



of two, there is but one shepherd, and he is above at the right, instead of below at the left.

It might well occur to one to ask why, since all the details of this painting are treated so closely in the Byzantine manner, it may not itself be not merely a pre-Giottesque but a genuine Byzantine work. The answer is not easy, as it rests more upon general considerations than upon the comparison of details, and even these general considerations do not necessarily bear one only interpretation. It is true that the blond coloring and the technique suggest the West and Italy, not the East and Constantinople, but, on the other hand, few Byzantine panel paintings as ancient as this have come down to us. Again, the sense of form is more robust, more substantial, than we are accustomed to in the painting of Byzantium, but here also it must be allowed that it is chiefly from miniatures that we have gained our idea of the Byzantine treatment of form. And once more, the argument that here there is something of the fulness and inner substance of Niccolò Pisano and the South Italian Art he descends from—as we see particularly in the all but classically beautiful figure of the younger woman attendant—might be used to point to one of those returns to Antiquity to which Byzantine art was periodically subject.

But my impression persists that here we see a pre-Giottesque Italian hand. Whatever may have been the case in the rest of Europe, the connection between South and even Central Italian art with the art of Byzantium was certainly close enough to account for everything in this panel. That the influence of Constantinople was spread all over Italy by both bronze and mosaic, not to speak of the minor arts, is everywhere admitted, and it would seem superfluous to remind students of the inevitable effect of such influence upon painting, were it not that there are writers in vogue who ignore or even deny them. But surely it is not possible to question the intimate relation of Duccio or Cavallini, the two most eminent painters of Italy before Giotto, with Byzantine art.

On the hypothesis, therefore, that this panel is, as I am convinced it is, really Italian, its Byzantine elements need not surprise us. Nor even if we go further, as I am inclined to do, and regard it as, more precisely, Roman, does any difficulty arise. There is nothing in the picture more Byzantine than in Duccio's work, for example, nothing, in fact, which cannot be accounted for by sup-



Fig. 8. BYZANTINE IVORY.
Formerly Lord Carmichael's Collection.

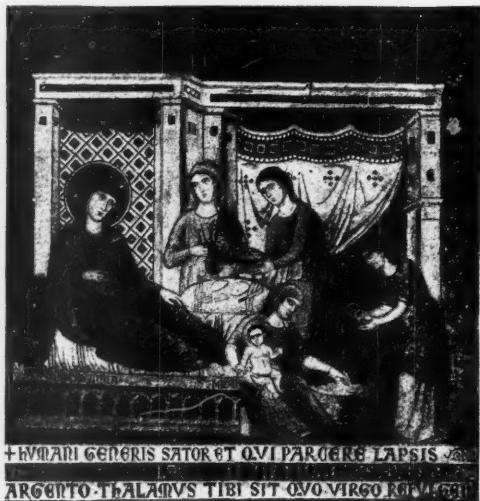


Fig. 9. MOSAIC IN S. MARIA IN TRASTEVERE, ROME.



Fig. 10. MOSAIC IN S. MARIA TRASTEVERE, ROME.

posing it to have been painted by a very close follower of Cavallini. Yet the steps taken to arrive at this point are not easy to retrace. The impressions that lead to it are vague, manifold and microscopically minute, as all so-called instinctive reactions must be, when they are rooted, so to speak, in the crumbled dust of endless, half-remembered details of past experience.

Happily, however, having reached this point by the aid of impressions almost impossible to explain, details of comparison and confirmation are not wanting. Although Cavallini's mosaics in S. Maria Trastevere in Rome do not furnish materials wherewith to judge whether a small painting be really from his own hand or not, they more than suffice to establish a close affiliation. Two of these compositions give the data required. They are the Nativity and the Birth of the Virgin. (Figs. 9 and 10).

Setting aside the general features, such as the goblet-shaped bowl and the large luminary in the sky, whether sun or Star, the actual details of treatment within the general canon are close enough to justify our classing them together. The reclining Virgin of our panel is similar in pose to the St. Anne in the mosaic, not only in silhouette but in the minutest details of draping. The attendant women in the mosaic are even more classical than in the painting, and the naked bodies of the Children are extraordinarily alike. The pointing shepherds have the identical action and gesture, the two cribs have the same mistakes in perspective, while the St. Joseph, although in the mosaic turned around and holding his head in his hand, is nevertheless, as a pattern, nearly identical with the St. Joseph in the painting. Only the mosaics throughout show more traces of the Byzantine return to Classicism, as may be clearly seen in the bit of late Greco-Roman genre representing the shepherd piping to his flock. How near to the Greek world Cavallini remained may be inferred from the fact that the Virgin as an Infant is labelled in Greek. This point is made with the object of suggesting that if Cavallini himself was so classical and so Greek, and yet was not a Byzantine, the Byzantine and classical elements of our little panel do not preclude its being Italian, in its turn—all the more that they are less pronounced.

Our picture, then, in all probability, was painted by a close follower of Cavallini, and by one who, judging from the loveliness of this one piece of work, might well have been heard of later, as

Giotto was in the next generation, but for the Babylonian Captivity, namely the desertion of the Papal Court from Rome, which cut down one of the fairest promises for art that Italy ever had.

THREE CASSONE PANELS BY MATTEO DA SIENA • BY FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

THE student of Italian furniture panels must usually be content to classify these interesting pieces by school, bottega and period. Accordingly it is a pleasure to be able to ascribe three unpublished panels of high quality to so delightful a master as Matteo di Giovanni of Siena. Some attention to Matteo's skill in this decorative kind has been paid by G. F. Hartlaub¹ in his recent excellent monograph on that artist, but I believe that no narrative pieces of the importance of the three here reproduced have been put to Matteo's credit. The admirable pair² representing a love story have recently passed into the possession of Mrs. Collis P. Huntington under the attribution School of Pollaiuolo. (Figs. 11 and 12). This very modest ascription may have seemed justified by the uncommon vivacity of the draughtsmanship. The thrilling little composition Jephthah's Return,³ in the collection of the Earl of Crawford, London (Fig. 13), was exhibited at the New Gallery in the winter of 1893-4 (No. 128) with the noncommittal designation Florentine School. Again the incisive quality of the drawing may have suggested the attribution.

To justify the ascription to Matteo, a casual examination of The Massacre of the Innocents, Naples (of late date), the same subject at S. Agostino, Siena (1482), the Madonna with Female Saints (1479) in S. Domenico, Siena, and of the cassone front, Camilla in Battle, in the collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia, will suffice. This last piece belongs to the famous series⁴ formerly in the Charles Butler Collection, London. All of these pictures except Camilla are readily accessible in Hartlaub's "Matteo da Siena" or Emil Jacobsen's "Das Quattrocento in Siena." For Mrs. Huntington's panels the mere comparison of the young women's heads, especially in the

¹ G. F. Hartlaub. *Matteo da Siena und seine Zeit*, Strassburg, 1910.

² 15½ h. x 41½ w. in inches.

³ 13½ h. x 32 w. in inches.

⁴ A second panel, Camilla Swimming the Tiber with Her Companions, is in the Metropolitan Museum; a third, Camilla Escaping unto her Father, was bought by Colnaghi. The dimensions of the panels are about 15 x 41.

Figs. 11 and 12. MATTEO DA SIENA: SCENES FROM A NOVELLA.
Collection of Mrs. Collis P. Huntington, New York.



group seated at table, with the St. Catherine and St. Barbara in the S. Domenico altar piece will be convincing enough. Beyond this, the sprawling group of musicians in a sort of gallery finds its exact counterpart in grouping and facial types in the spectators of the Massacre in S. Agostino. In fact, this picture contains so many exact reminders of Mrs. Huntington's panels that one should not set these far from its date, 1482. In addition I may call attention to Matteo's very characteristic architecture—picturesque, ill constructed, and abounding in conventionally ruled and perfunctory cornices.

At first sight the Earl of Crawford's Jephthah seems to transcend Matteo's powers. But the most exact parallels with the soldier types are found in the two pictures of the Massacre of the Innocents above cited. Mr. Johnson's Camilla, which is universally ascribed to Matteo, affords equally certain analogies. Jephthah himself is found in the Naples panel of 1477 in the most prominent of the slayers. Only the quite extraordinary beauty of the singing girls seems apart from Matteo's usual manner. Their fantastic charm seems to forecast the triumphs of Francesco di Giorgio, and one would like to think of him giving a little neighborly aid to Matteo about the year 1480. But if the spirit seems Francesco's, the forms are those of Matteo, and the likelier theory is that Francesco took his own point of departure from this exceptional phase of the older master. Unfortunately I can throw no light on the subject of Mrs. Huntington's panels. Yet the general theme is plain. A lovesick youth, attended by an older sympathetic friend, is visited by the cruel princess of his choice. After the visit she walks away with evident compunction, while the friend explains the desperateness of the case to her father. Next, at the door of a palace or temple, the friend and the father apparently come to an agreement. The second panel shows the marriage, the joyous dancing thereafter, while in the same room, which once witnessed the lovesickness of the suitor, he now serves on joyous bended knee the bride and her bridesmaids. So many novelle begin with a lovelorn swain and end with wedding bells that it would be difficult to find the literary source of these delightful pictures. As views of Renaissance society in its splendor and grace they seem to me of unique interest. In them we see the actual walk and conversation of the patrician youth of soft Siena, when that life was at its gayest and best. Such informal and charming, yet accurate, historical record seems to constitute the most legitimate theme for

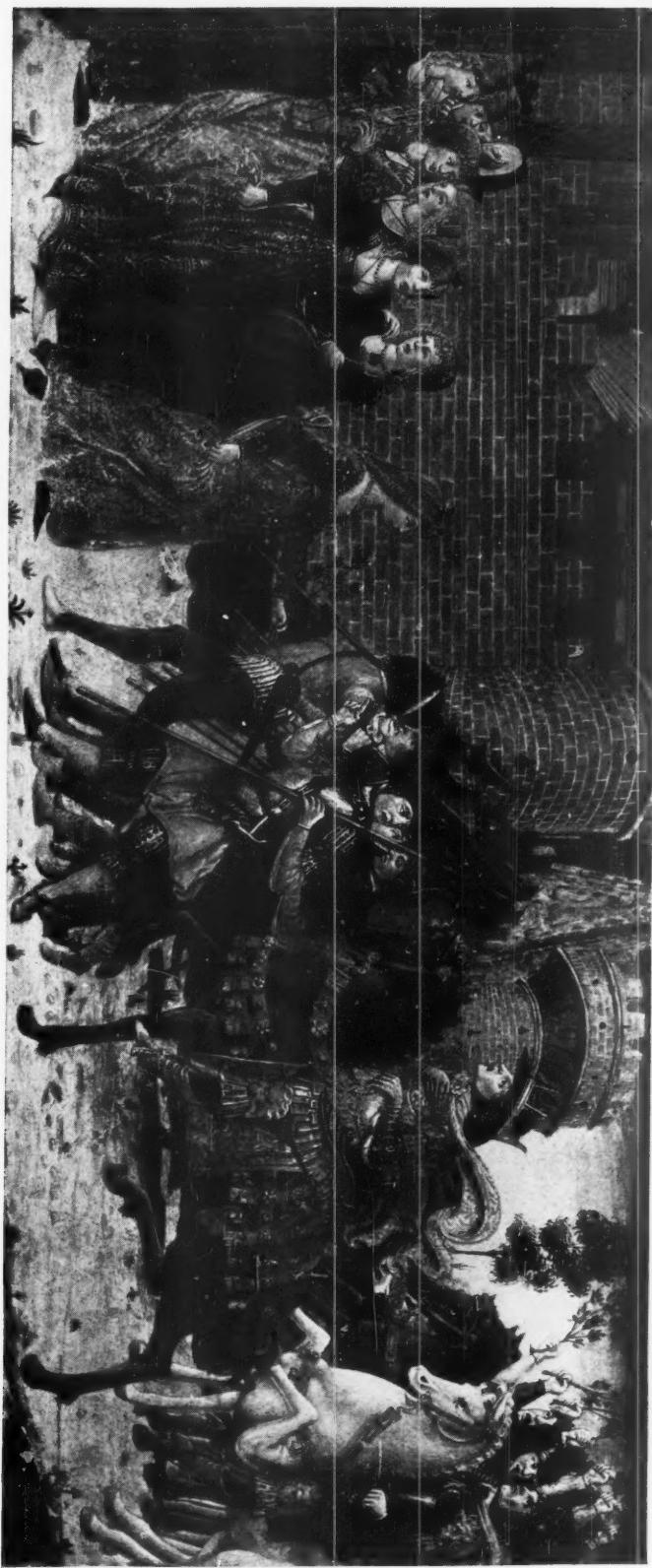
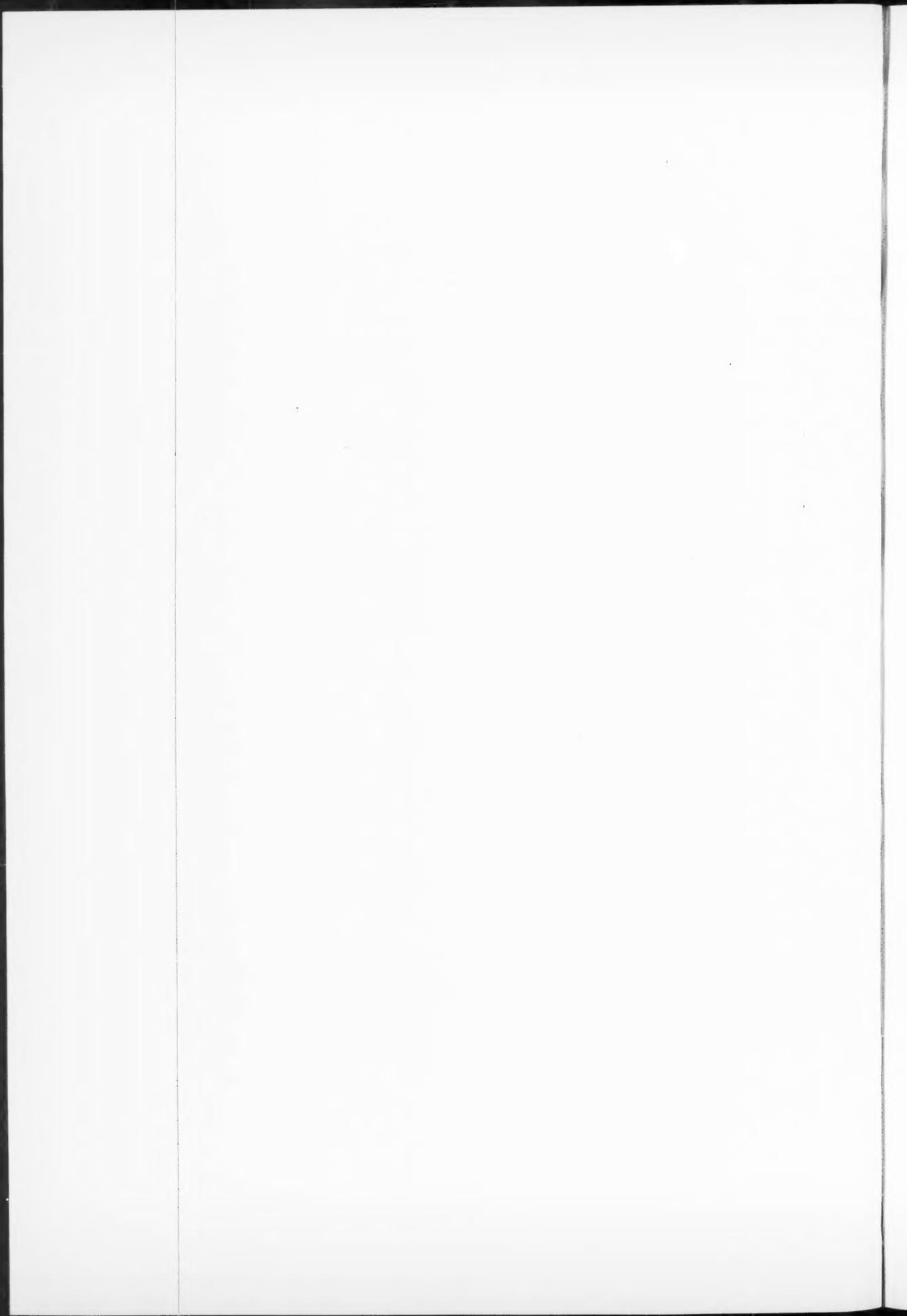


Fig. 13. MATTEO DA SIENA: JEPHTHAH'S RETURN.
Collection of the Earl of Crayford, London.



this minor decorative art. One would be loathe to exchange the few cassoni of this familiar sort for those more masterly works which plainly transcend the class—the fantasies of Piero di Cosimo and the tragedies of Sandro Botticelli.

Of the Earl of Crawford's admirable Jephthah it may be said that it is too tragic for a decorative panel. Certainly few greater pictures cause the catch in the breath that this does. The father gasps and sinks a little in the saddle as he sees that the first living thing to greet him—the firstling vowed by him to sacrificial death—is his own daughter. The smitten chieftain and conqueror is set between the confusion of striding footmen and of horsemen bawling their victory. In admirable and thrilling contrast is the lovely choir of singing maidens, gently meeting the onrush, and the joyous figure of the daughter, girlishly holding out the olive branch to a returning father. Yet if this little masterpiece is singularly true to the grimness of the scriptural narrative,¹ it also keeps a legendary and fairy mood which withdraws it from the ambitious genre of historical tragedy. It must count as Matteo's masterpiece in narrative.

Returning to Mrs. Huntington's panels, the keen, yet harmonious brilliancy of reds, shifting from vermillion to rose, is their most remarkable color quality. A Florentine painter would hardly have worked out so satisfactory an accord with such strident materials. All three of these panels show an extraordinary gusto in design and scrupulous perfection in workmanship. It is the coarser handling of the spirited Camilla panels, and of the two Odyssey panels in the Cluny Museum, that seem to mark them as bottega products. For Matteo's own hand in this kind, the three works we have been considering may serve as a sure touchstone. They may be panels for bride chests or merely for wall decoration. Nothing in the way of tradition, or coat of arms, tells us for what Sienese patron Matteo produced these fine designs.

I take this opportunity of telling those who are interested in painted cassone fronts, and other pictorial furniture panels of the Italian Renaissance, that I am preparing a complete illustrated catalogue of all such pieces and beg collectors to send me information and photographs. Within a year I hope to publish such cassoni

¹ And Jephthah came to Mizpeh unto his house, and, behold, his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances; and she was his only child; beside her he had neither son nor daughter.

And it came to pass when he saw her, that he rent his clothes, and said, alas, my daughter! Thou hast brought me very low, and thou art one of them that trouble me; for I have opened my mouth unto the Lord, and I cannot go back.—*Judges xi, 34, 35.*

and birth salvers as have reached America. It is also a pleasure to call attention to the similar studies of the learned German scholar, Dr. Paul Schubring, concerning cassoni in England, which are now appearing in the Burlington Magazine.

ESAIAS BOURSSE • BY WILHELM R. VALENTINER

THE well-known French statesman and writer on art, Burger-Thoré, to whom we owe the rediscovery of Vermeer, used, as an illustration of his epoch-making article on this master in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* of 1866, a picture at that time in his possession, which he attributed to Vermeer, and which is now in the Widener Collection in Philadelphia (Fig. 14). With the knowledge we have to-day concerning Vermeer, it is not difficult to decide that this Interior, with a sleeping servant maid, does not originate with him; but it is not so easy to find a new name that fits it. In my opinion, the right one is Esaias Boursse.

This artist has been disinterred recently by modern research. Dr. Bode and Dr. Bredius, in an article written in collaboration¹ seven years ago, first published the fundamental facts concerning him, and compiled a list of nine works from which could be gained a good idea of his style. Since then, a series of other paintings, as yet unpublished, have become known, seven in number, six of which are in America. The artist cannot be compared to Vermeer in importance, but he is, nevertheless, one of the original genre-painters in Dutch art whose works are now and then remarkable for their modern feeling. He is worthy to be named with the masters who were influenced by Rembrandt, such as Pieter de Hooch and Nicolaes Maes, and stands on the same level with Brekelenkam and Vrel.

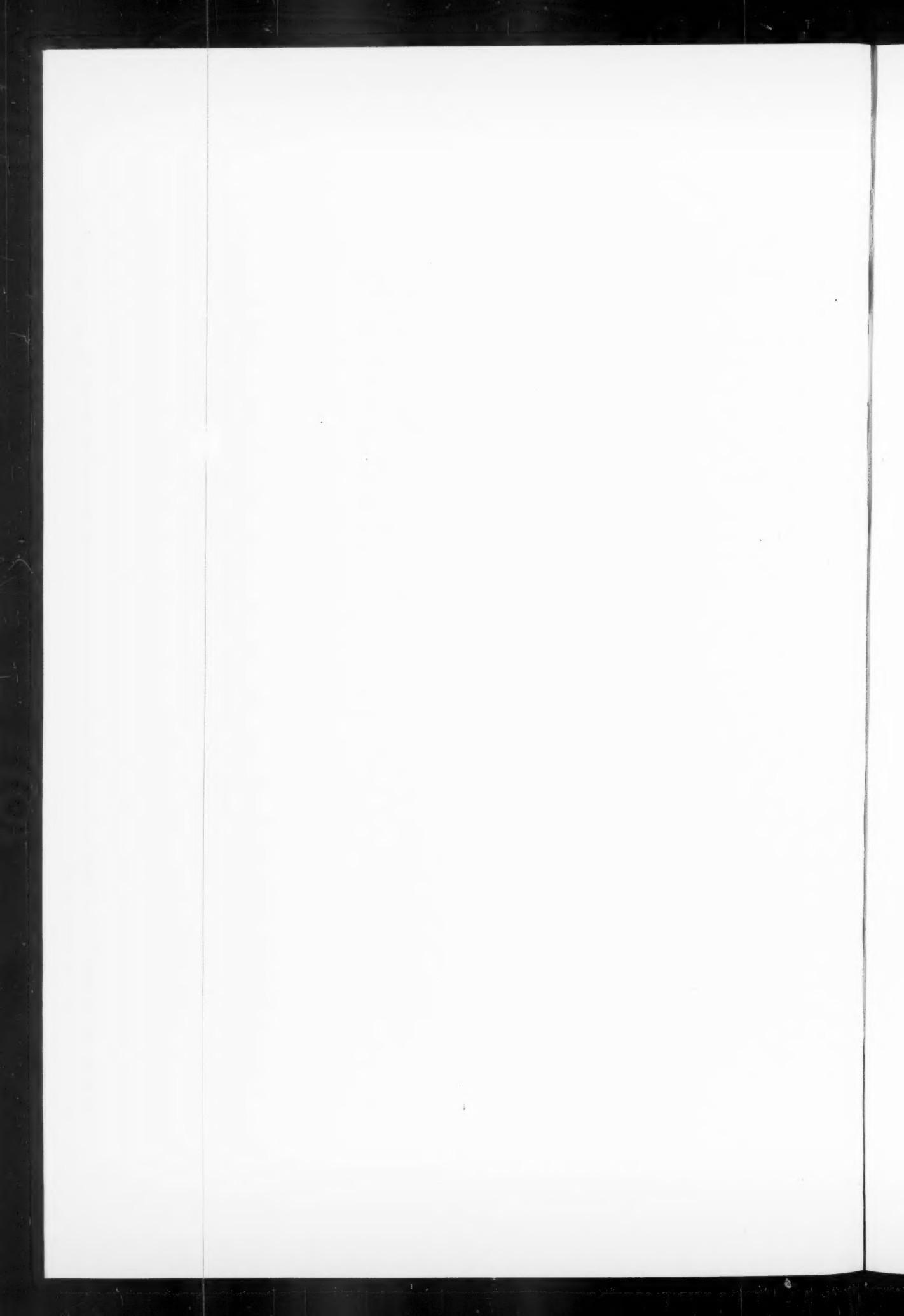
Esaias Boursse was born in 1631 at Amsterdam of Walloon parents. Since a number of Rembrandt's works are noted in his inventory, and several of his own pictures show Rembrandt's tendencies, it is justly assumed that he was a pupil of the great master. This must have been during the second half of the forties, at the time when some of the prominent Dutch masters came forth from Rembrandt's studio, or else received from him a definite impulse, artists such as Nicolaes Maes, Karel Fabritius, Pieter de Hooch, and

¹. Jahrbuch der kgl. preuss. Kunstsammlungen, 1905



Fig. 14. ESAIAS BOURSE: THE SLEEPING COOK.

Collection of Mr. P. A. B. Widener, Philadelphia.



Jan Vermeer. Upon the last two the influence was only indirectly exercised through Fabritius, and, in the meantime, it is not clear how Boursse received the impulse from Pieter de Hooch, which is so apparent in his work. For de Hooch lived in Delft at that time, and first came to Amsterdam at the end of the sixties, at a time when we must believe Boursse to have been past the period of subjection to influences from without. After his student period, Boursse went very likely to Italy, but, at the same time, kept to his pure Dutch manner of conceiving a subject, although here too he came under one influence and another, which are worked into his accomplishment, as we shall see later. The artist seems to have been bewitched by travel. In 1661, in his thirtieth year, he went to East India in the service of the East India Company. The records of his inventory show that he made nature studies on the Cape of Good Hope and in Ceylon. After his return he remained in Amsterdam barely one decade, and the period of his greatest activity probably fell within this time. In the autumn of 1672, he set out a second time for India, this time without reaching his goal. He died on the high seas at one and forty years of age.

From the shortness of the artist's life, and his incidental occupations, we should not expect his to be an extensive life-work. Nevertheless, what already has come to light must be only a part of that which has been preserved of his performance. The best known, and perhaps most distinguished of his Interiors, is the woman in a chimney-corner by the side of an unmade bed in the Wallace collection,¹ which is dated 1656, and already shows an extraordinary feeling for color on the part of the artist in its harmony of grey and reddish brown. The painting in the Widener collection, much stronger in color, is not far inferior to it, and, with the Apple Peeler of the Strassburg gallery, may also be considered to date from the fifties. In all these pictures there is the single figure of a woman, in almost the same costume, with the same white cap, in an interior, and the accompanying still-life is given almost as high a degree of importance in the handling as the principal figure. In the Widener picture we see the Rembrandtesque tendency in the strong red of

1. In the latest edition of the catalogue of the Wallace collection Dr. Hofstede de Groot's earlier opinion, previously discarded, is again brought forward. According to him there are two artists by the name of Boursse, one Esaias, the other L. Boursse, and this picture, which is signed, is given to the latter. I am in agreement with Dr. Bode, who attributes the picture to Esaias Boursse. It entirely harmonizes with his work. The L in the signature, which very easily might be turned into an E, is hardly sufficient foundation on which to construct a new master for whom all documentary evidence is lacking.

the cook's gown and the pasty handling of the brick wall, which recalls, in its technique, the View of a Courtyard in the Berlin Museum, perhaps the earliest known work by the artist. The predilection for white linen, which we encounter in all compositions by Boursse, is conspicuous in the Widener as in the Wallace picture, and we see the beginning of a cool color harmony, toward which the artist gradually turned, in the blue coat with which the white apron is harmonized. The motive of the Sleeping Cook is found also in the Rembrandt circle in Vermeer's picture in the Altman collection, which also derives from the latter half of the fifties and possibly inspired our artist. Take it all in all, it would not be unjustifiable if Boursse occasionally were confounded with Vermeer. In common with Vermeer, he habitually introduces only one figure, rarely more than two figures, into his paintings of interiors, and places these in a peculiar light for the purpose of lending to the realistic motives a poetic charm, and, further than this, he sets these figures quite near to the spectator, who, in consequence, sees them in a peculiar perspective. The difficulties attendant upon these near views now and then occasion faults in drawing, especially in the modelling of the figure, which Vermeer, with much greater knowledge, was able to avoid. The presentation of the room itself, and the relation of the figures to their environment, recall, it is true, de Hooch rather than Vermeer who oftenest gives a half or three-quarters view of his figures. A comparison with both painters teaches us, however, that the art of Boursse cannot be explained by outside influences alone, but possess an independent character.

An example of the somewhat exaggerated tendency to the near view of the figure is found in a charming picture in the possession of Mr. John G. Johnson of Philadelphia, the Grace before Meat (Fig. 15). The motive is not uncommon in Dutch genre art. We meet it in the work of Adriaen van Ostade, Jan Steen, and some of their followers. In these compositions we usually see, however, a large family together, and the children, especially those of Jan Steen, who generally are laughing behind their caps, are not always reverent. Boursse, on the contrary, limits himself to two figures, an old man and a boy, both sincerely earnest in their devotions. Humor and temperament were not the artist's affair. His figures have always something serious and immobile, which very well suits the dreamy sentiment of his pictures. This sentiment is, on the whole, more important to



FIG. 15. ESAIAS BOURSE: GRACE BEFORE MEAT.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

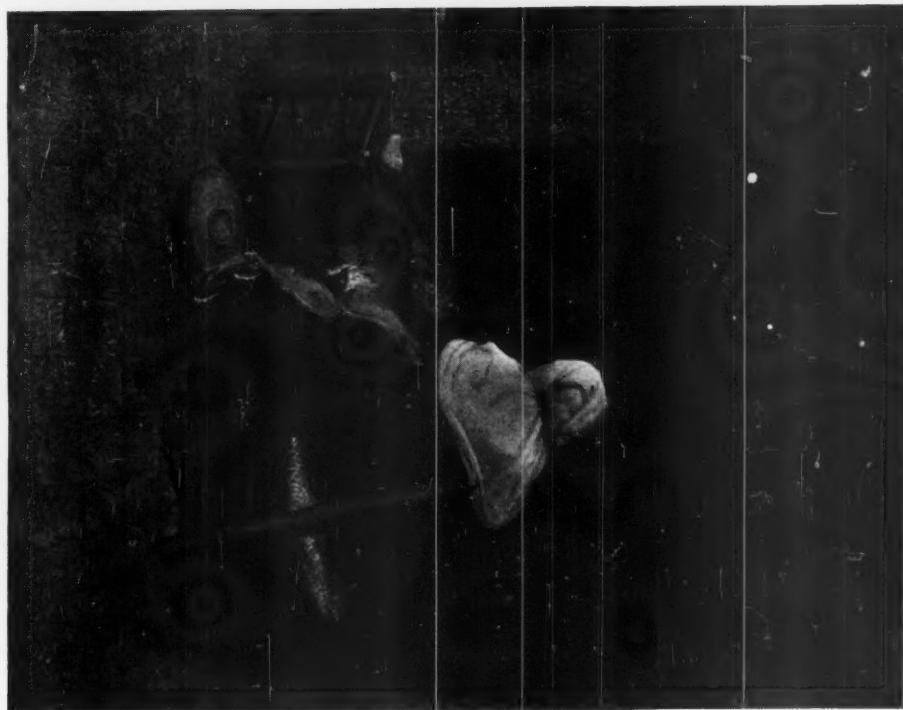


FIG. 16. ESAIAS BOURSE: WOMAN BY THE HEARTH.
Collection of Mr. John D. McIlhenny, Philadelphia.

him than the expression of the faces, and he achieves it more through the quiet presences, the still, weary, seated figures, than through the portrayal of individuality. His women sit pensive at the hearth-side or by a sickbed, or else, having made the bed, they rest awhile from their work. The men are old and taciturn, and mope passively in the chimney corner, or, if they are at the table, sit staring in melancholy.

If the women are engaged in some task, such as spinning or washing, the actual occupation is either concealed, or so thrust into the background as to leave undisturbed the peace and pleasantness of the room. In one picture, which a year ago was in possession of an art dealer, and the present whereabouts of which I do not know, a man and a woman are sitting by the fireplace, and in the foreground near the man stands a cradle. The woman has taken the child out of the cradle and is giving it supper, but this occupation is kept entirely within the shadow, and is only apparent upon close inspection. Both the man and the woman are shown with their faces turned three-quarters away, and their expression is hardly discernible. Yet the impression of a peaceful, dreamy mood is fully achieved. In a charming little picture belonging to Mr. John D. McIlhenny in Philadelphia (Fig. 16), the artist goes so far as to show the figure only from the back view. A woman with a white headdress sits by the hearth, and the observer may decide for himself whether she is cooking or stirring the fire. The aspect of the woman, who, as her tilted chair shows, has taken a comfortable position in front of the fire, the bright flames, over which a pot is suspended, the dish with the frugal meal on the stool—these are sufficient to awaken in the spectator an emotion of poetry and pleasantness. The picture comes so close to an allied and equally rare and poetic painter, Jan Vrel, that one wavers between the two masters when it comes to attribution.

In the case of another spacious Interior in the collection of Mr. Johnson of Philadelphia (Fig. 17) all doubt as to the authorship is precluded by the genuine monogram E B (the E inverted and leaning against the B). A washerwoman, in a greyish violet gown, is represented in an interior, into which a bright light streams from a window at the left. The light is reflected in the bull's eye panes of glass,

1. One recalls in this connection the fine interior in the Brussels museum which is ascribed (by C. Hofstede de Groot) to Jan Vrel and harmonizes in motive to a marked degree with a picture of a woman seated by a sickbed mentioned in Boursse's inventory.



Fig. 17. ESAIAS BOURSE: THE WASHERWOMAN.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

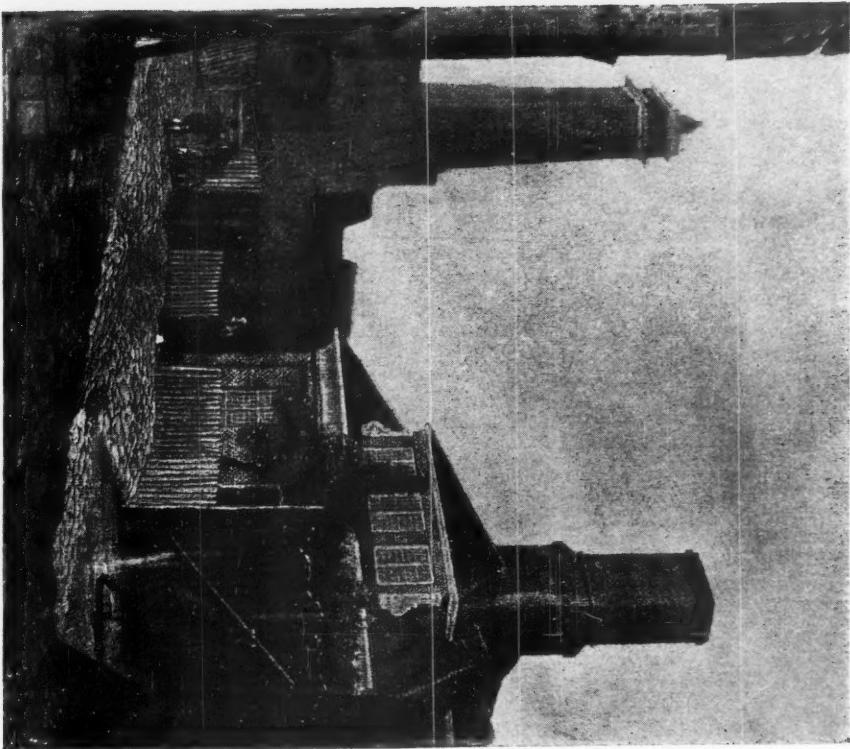


Fig. 18. ESAIAS BOURSE: STREET SCENE.
Collection of Mr. John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

the cistern at the left, the floor and the chair, on which a beautifully depicted dog lies curled up. From the somewhat abnormal color scheme of cool blue-grey and red-brown, this might be taken for a late work of the artist, which would explain both the color and the peculiar accentuated lighting, possibly derived from impressions received in Italy from masters of both the Genoese and Roman schools led by Strozzi and Caravaggio. In any case, the picture has an original and almost modern effect, and one might justly be reminded of the pictures of the French Impressionists, something of Manet's, perhaps. The way in which the white linen is wrapped about the woman, and the play of the light on this still life, almost more interesting than the figure itself in handling, makes one think of the modern masters, with whom the representation of material surfaces is more important than the characteristics of objects.

In Philadelphia, where all the paintings by Boursse owned in America are assembled, we find now two outdoor scenes by the artist, one in Mr. Johnson's collection (Fig. 18), the other in that of Mr. McIlhenny, which show the master on a wholly different side and one of special importance in the evolution of art. We already knew of two courtyard scenes, the one in Aix, the other in Berlin, and we knew, if the artist's inventory is to be trusted, that he also painted street scenes; but the two paintings in Philadelphia first show his close relation in compositions of this kind to the masters grouped about Vermeer.

The picture in Mr. Johnson's possession represents a street corner, closed in narrowly by buildings, with a vine-draped brick house at the right. The picture, in its sheer naturalism, like the motive itself, with its tall chimneys reminiscent of factory buildings, suggests a very modern art, and, in fact, one of the best connoisseurs of Dutch art thinks that he recognizes in the work an eighteenth century artist by the name of Jan Ekels, an imitator of Jan van der Heyde. But the technic and the monogram (genuine as I believe) E B, linked together as in the picture mentioned above, appear to me to speak in favor of Boursse, but it must also be admitted that the gable of the house at the right appears unusual for the period of the artist's life.

The other outdoor scene, which belongs to Mr. McIlhenny and recently came to America from Mr. Humphrey Ward's collection in London, shows a street corner with picturesquely grouped houses

of irregular construction, apparently in Amsterdam. The peculiarity of these views for the time at which they originated, lies in the angle of vision from which the artist saw the rows of houses. As we know, street scenes are not rare in Dutch art. There are a number of artists such as Jan van der Heyde and Gerrit Berckheyde, who almost exclusively painted city subjects. But all these masters selected the painter's point of view long familiar in art, according to which the composition is given a middle distance and a background and is of graduated depth. They chose, by preference, open places, from which one could look out into neighboring streets, or canal views with long perspectives. In very few cases do Dutch painters deviate from this rule and lead us so near to the courts and houses that the middle distance and background are practically suppressed. The artists who ventured these near views, are, so far as I know, only Jan Vermeer, Pieter de Hooch, the above-mentioned Jan Vrel and Esaias Boursse. Vermeer certainly did so when he placed us directly in front of the façade of a little brick building in that well-known little picture by him which is in the Six collection in Amsterdam. All these artists felt that the near view actually and psychologically brings us nearer to the thing seen, and, together with the picturesque impression of the little street, creates in us a feeling of intimacy and peaceful pleasure. It reveals the poetry of angles and roofs, and lays the foundation for the modern type of street view, which, in the nineteenth century, was further built up, first by the romantic, and then by the realistic schools of painting in all countries.

A TERRACOTTA BUST OF FRANÇOIS I • BY ALLAN MARQUAND

THE fine bust here published (Fig. 19) is in the collection of Mr. George Blumenthal of New York. It is worthy of being widely known, not only as a striking portrait of François I, but as a most interesting monument of the early Renaissance in France. The history of the bust is fortunately preserved. It belonged to M. le Comte de Brieux when it was sold at the Hotel Drouot on June 29, 1899. It had figured in the Exposition rétrospective at Tours in 1890. It was reproduced from a photograph in 1905 in

Paul Vitry's monograph on Tours,¹ and from a drawing by Boudier in Gonse's *La sculpture française*. In 1869 it figured as a vignette in the Abbé C. Chevalier's *Promenades pittoresques en Touraine*. In the latter book it appears in its original location, above the entrance door of the Château de Sansac, near Loches (Indre-et-Loire), within a medallion inscribed *Franciscus Primus*, set in a quadrangular panel containing the date 1529. Louis Prévost de Sansac was a companion of François I. Both were born at Cognac and captured at the battle of Pavia in 1525. On returning to France, de Sansac became riding master and tutor to the King's children, and died with the title of Maréchal de France.

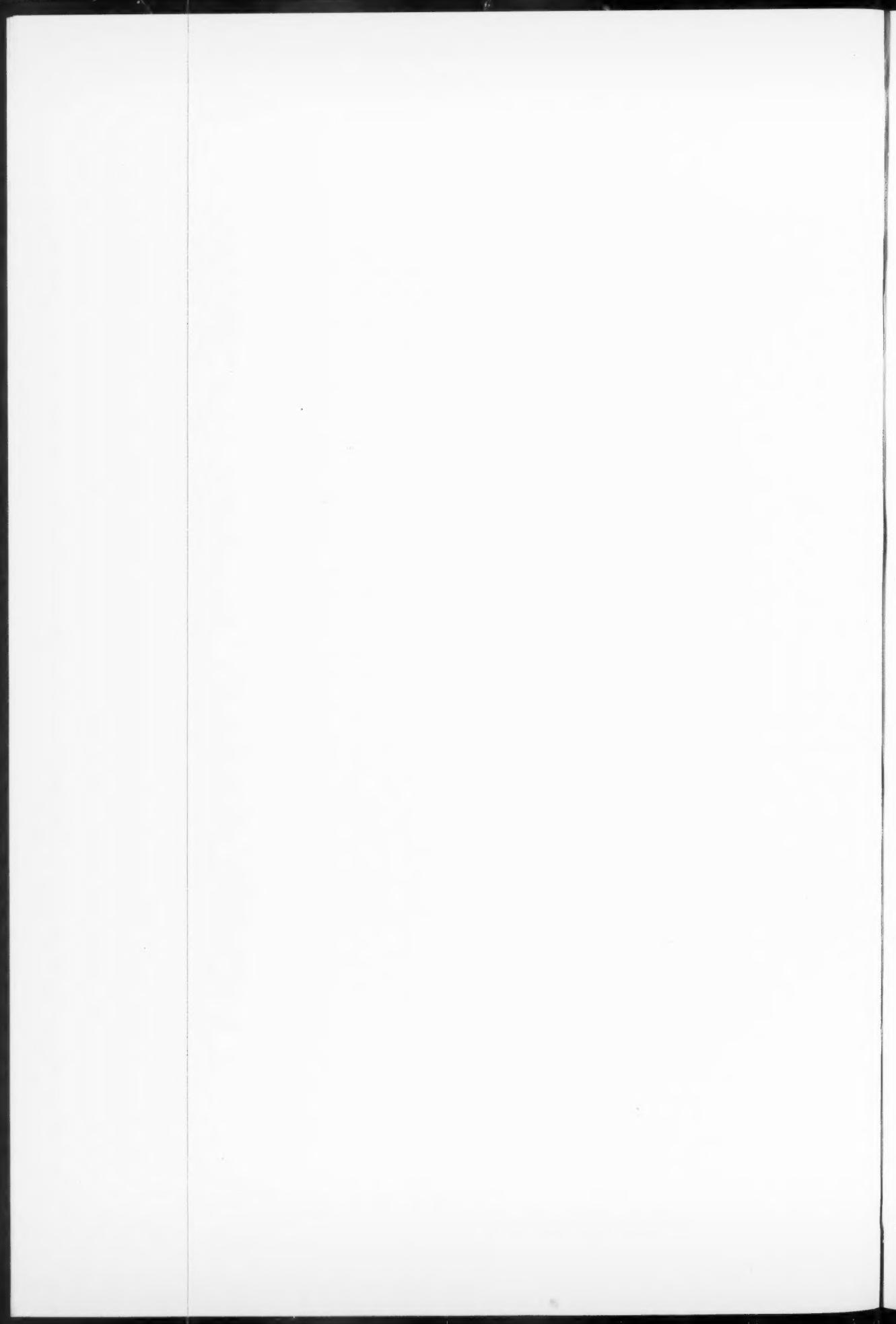
As a portrait of François I., the Abbé Chevalier claims this to be the most authentic which we possess. In 1529 François I. would have been thirty-five years of age, and his character likely to be revealed in his facial expression. This bust cannot have portrayed a man much younger or older than thirty-five. That it represents François I. himself is evident from a comparison of other remaining portraits. The field of sculpture furnishes us with medals and coins, a bronze bust in the Louvre, and the sepulchral statues at St. Denis, while that of painting supplies us with portraits executed on paper, vellum, wood, canvas and copper.

Of these the most useful series is furnished by the medals. Some may not have been taken from life, but, as a whole, the series shows the development of a single individual. In Lenormant's *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, in the first volume of the *Médailles françaises*, planches 5-11, we see François represented in 1504 as a boy of ten; in 1512 as a youth of eighteen; in 1515 as a King and conqueror at Marignano; in 1516 when he made a concordat with the Pope; in 1519 when he recovered Tournai. In 1521 he was wounded in the face by Jacques de Montgommery and ever after wore a beard. From this date follow the medals of 1522, 1537, and finally his death medal in 1547. In these later medals of the bearded type he is frequently represented with the feathered hat which he wears in the Blumenthal bust. It may be noted that the sensuous leer apparent in the bust is seen also in the later medals. A coin designed by Matteo dal Nassaro in 1529 exhibits François I. of an age and character like that shown in the terra-

1. In the series, *Les Villes d'art célèbres*.



Fig. 19. BUST OF FRANÇOIS I, ENAMELLED TERRACOTTA.
Collection of Mr. George Blumenthal, New York.



cotta bust.¹ In this class of portraits some of the most charming were designed by Italian artists, Giovanni Candida, Matteo dal Nassaro, and Benvenuto Cellini. Others, especially the fine medals of 1515 and 1519, are, in style, essentially French.

In the bronze bust in the Louvre (Alinari's photograph No. 22241) François I. is represented by a contemporary French sculptor as a conqueror, wearing the necklace of the order of St. Michael, somewhat older and of a grosser type than in the terracotta bust. The Triumphal Tomb of François I. at St. Denis contains two marble effigies of the King, one on his knees by Ponce Jacquier, the other as a corpse by Pierre Bontemps; but both of these were executed in 1548-1552, after the King was dead.² A general survey of these portraits shows that the Italian artists were inclined to classic or ideal portraiture, and that the most vivid representations of the King were due to French sculptors.

We might well extend our inquiries into the field of graphic art. Had we before us a series of the engraved portraits of François I. which served as frontispieces to the books published during his reign, these might help us to fix the features of the King; the crayon drawings, so popular in France in the sixteenth century, would be of still more service, could we find earlier examples than that in the collection at Chantilly;³ the miniatures of François I. exhibited at the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1907⁴ might have thrown some light upon our problem, but the only one which is well-known⁵ dates from 1566, nine years after the death of the King.

After his victory at Marignano, François I. ordered a translation made of Caesar's Gallic Wars, considering himself a second Julius Caesar and his companions in arms as the equals of Caesar's lieutenants. The miniature portraits, attributed by Henry Bouchot and Alphonse Germain to Jean Clouet, are proved by F. de Mély to be by Godefroy le Batave.⁶ These *Commentaires des Guerres Galloques*, produced in 1520, contained a miniature portrait of François I. and of his companions, which may well be studied in connection with the Blumenthal bust as products of the same general school

1. Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, IV, fig. 461.

2. Imbard, *Tombeau de François I*, pls. 6-7; Gonse, *La Sculpture française*, 93-99; Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, IV, 665-668.

3. *Gaz. Beaux Arts*, XXXVII (1907), p. 32.

4. *Gaz. Beaux Arts*, XXXVII (1907), p. 472, note I.

5. Michel, *Hist. de l'Art*, IV, fig. 518.

6. *Gaz. Beaux Arts*, XXXVII (1907), 403-417.

of art. Godefroy came from Holland, but his style was essentially French.

Of the painted portraits of François I. the two attributed to Titian¹ were certainly not painted from life; the equestrian portraits in the Uffizi and elsewhere were painted by François Clouet as late as 1541-1545;² and the beautiful enamel by Léonard Limousin³ dates from 1553. In the collection of Mr. John G. Johnson of Philadelphia there is a portrait of François I., apparently taken from life and of somewhat later date than the bust. The two portraits in the Louvre belong to an earlier period. One (No. 127) is certainly a derivative work, the other (No. 126), which we reproduce here (Fig. 20), is a finely executed, notable portrait. Its history is well known as it passed from the Château of Fontainebleau to that of Versailles, and finally in 1848 to the Louvre.⁴ In 1642 it was attributed to Jean Clouet, later it was labelled "Unknown," then it was attributed to Mabuse. Since its return to the Louvre it has been reattributed to Jean Clouet by De Laborde, Villot, Alphonse Germain, Georges Lafenestre, and others. Dimier⁵ believes the portrait to be the work of an Italian, who made use of the crayon portrait attributed to Jean Clouet in the collection at Chantilly.

It is with this portrait that the Blumenthal bust should be compared. Both represent the King as about the same age. In fact De Laborde long ago assigned the painted portrait to the year 1529, the very year to which the bust was assigned when it stood over the entrance of the Château de Sansac. In both cases François wears a broad brimmed hat, with similar decoration beneath a large feather, and a robe covered with corded embroidery. It is not surprising that Louis Gonse,⁶ in writing of this bust, "*si françois d'allure, si tourangeau d'exécution*" exclaims: "*Si Jean Clouet, le peintre ordinaire de François I., a jamais modelé en terre, ce qui n'a rien d'inraisemblable, c'est ainsi qu'on s'imaginera volontiers son exécution, légère et subtile comme un crayon.*" The attribution to Jean Clouet is not unreasonable, as the royal accounts show that on the 28th of March, 1529, he was paid for "*plusieurs portraits*

1. Fischel, *Tizian*, figs. 78, 79.

2. Germain, *Les Clouets*, p. 55.

3. Imbard, *Tombeau de François I.*, pl. 4.

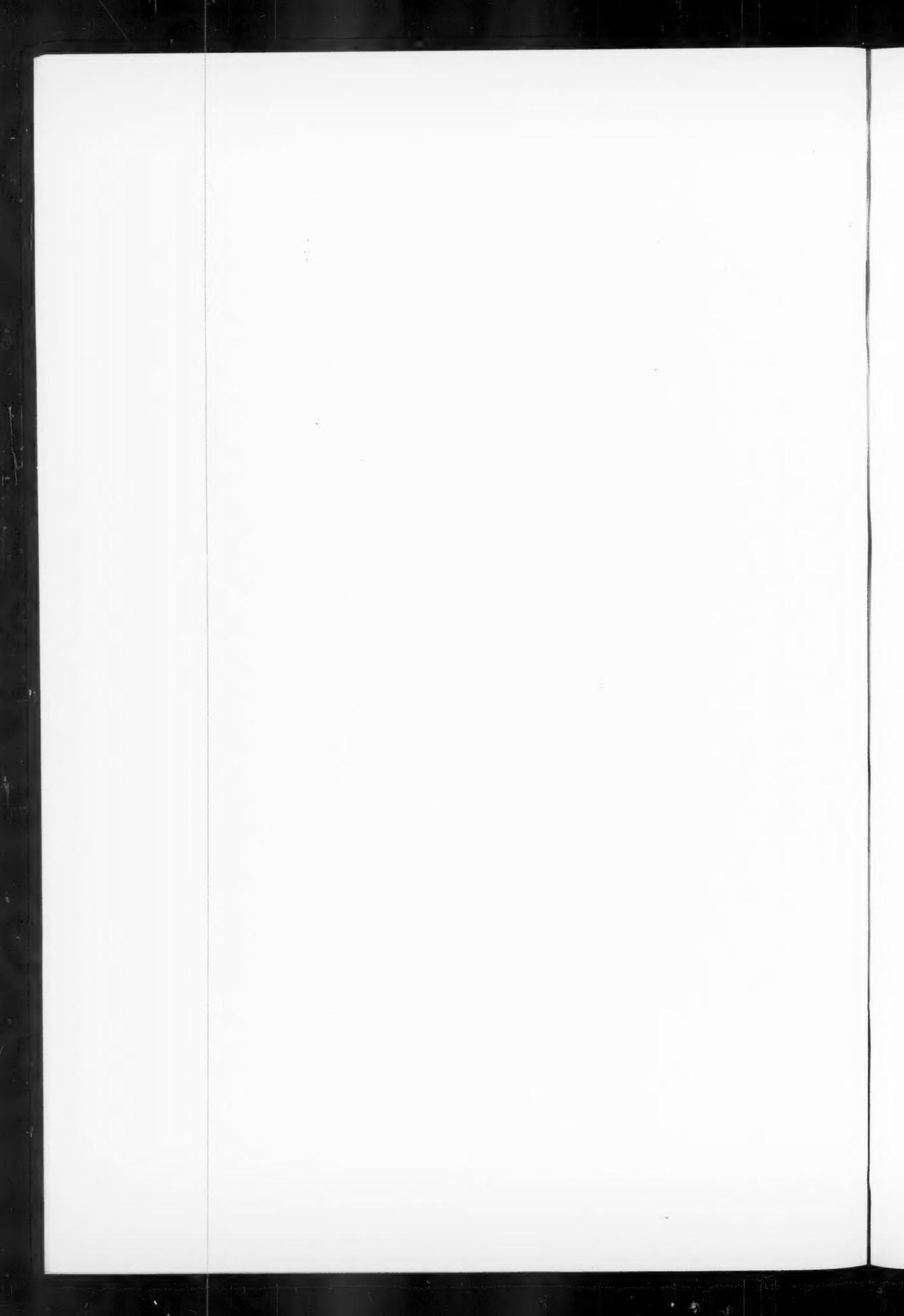
4. Pattison, *Renaissance of Art in France*, I, 320.

5. *Le Primitif*, p. 523.

6. *La Sculpture française*, p. 88.



Fig. 20. ATTRIBUTED TO JEAN CLOUET: FRANÇOIS I
Louvre, Paris.



et effigiees au vif" ordered by the King.¹ These "effigiees au vif" were probably wax or clay portraits, since François Clouet, also a painter, made busts of the King and his two sons in wax, clay and papier-maché.² Jean Clouet was at one time a resident of Tours, which is not far from Sansac, and from 1528–1533 was the chief of the King's *Valets de garde robe*, a post held exclusively by painters and sculptors.³

There were, however, sculptors in abundance engaged in work of all kinds for François I. One of these, Jean Perréal, was for some years the King's Valet, and from 1524 to 1527 held the place of honor above Jean Clouet. Possibly he made this bust, but it is impossible for us to verify this supposition. We might also think of Girolamo della Robbia, who came to France about 1527 and was engaged by François I. in 1529 to decorate the Château de Madrid. The fact that the bust is glazed renders this hypothesis most attractive; but the structure of the bust and the quality of its glaze are not such as one would expect from a son of Andrea della Robbia. Not far from Tours was the Château of Oiron, where lived the widow of Artur Gouffier, formerly tutor of François I. Here from 1524 to 1537 Jean Bernart and François Charpentier made glazed faience, now excessively rare and valuable.⁴ Essentially French, and of about this period, is a glazed terracotta tabernacle in the Musée de Sèvres. It came from the Château de Cognac, where François I. was born, and bears the arms of his father and mother. Other terracotta busts are known to have issued from the school of Tours at this period,⁵ but are unglazed. The fine Early Renaissance bust of Robert de Montal, published by Gonse,⁶ has a frame consisting of a medallion inscribed in a rectangular panel, like that which contained the bust of François I over the door of the Château de Sansac.

The Blumenthal bust is, therefore, not only an early and rare example of a technique then in its infancy in France, but is a vivid and striking portrait—possibly the best remaining to us—of François I.

Mr. Blumenthal has kindly consented to exhibit this bust for a while at the Metropolitan Museum.

1. De Laborde, *La Renaissance des Arts à la cour de France*, I, 15.

2. De Laborde, I, 83, 87.

3. Bouchot, *Les Clouets*, p. 60.

4. Prime, *Pottery and Porcelain*, 183–187.

5. Gonse, op. cit., 44.

6. Gonse, *Les chefs-d'œuvre des Musées de France*, p. 246.

A MADONNA BY CARLO CRIVELLI • BY FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

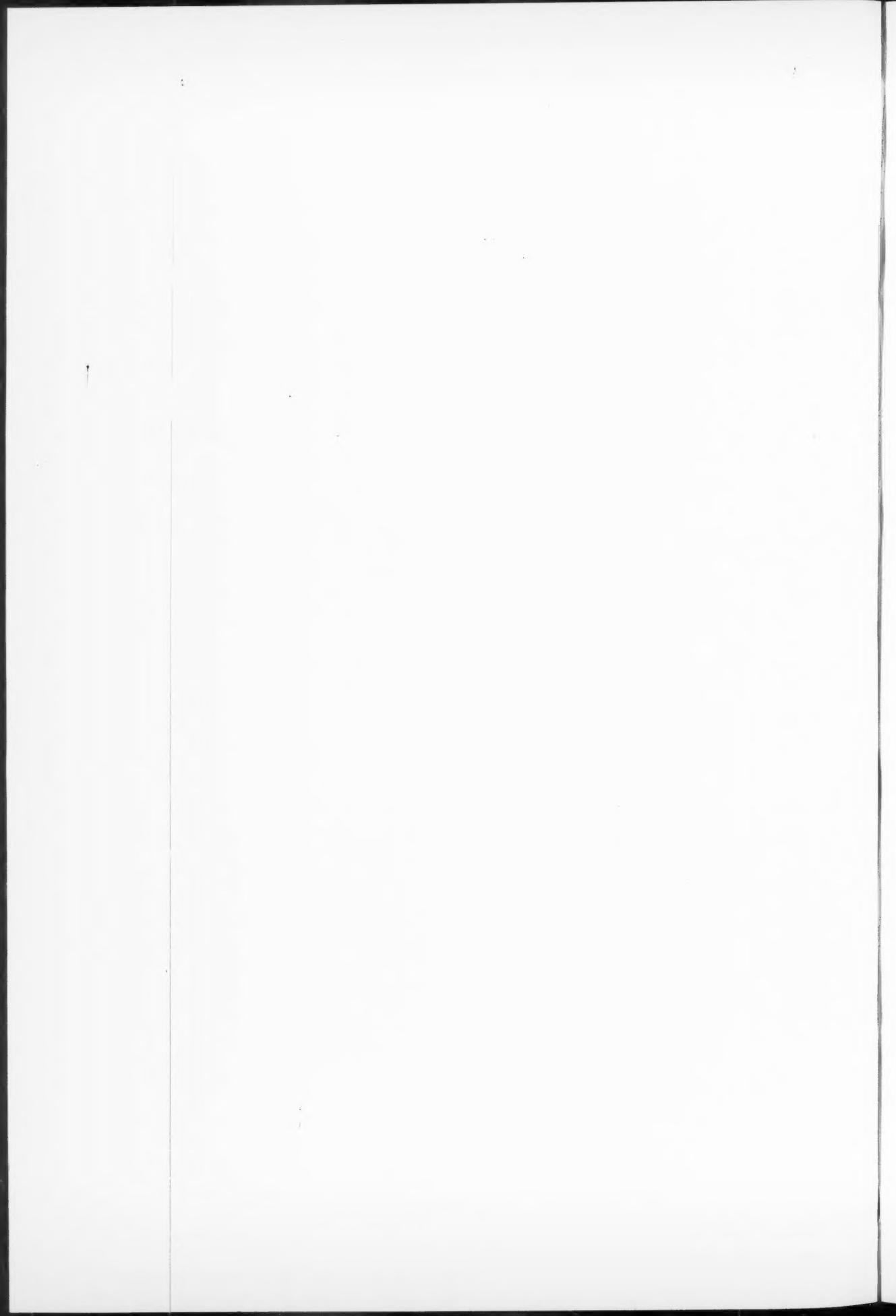
THE splendid Crivelli (Fig. 21), of which Mr. Philip Lehman has become the fortunate possessor, has so recently been brought to my attention that I cannot pretend to have studied it exhaustively. And, after all, it seems more important to bring so exquisite a work before fellow enthusiasts for Italian art than to weigh too deliberately its exact position in Crivelli's development. In a general way the case seems clear enough. In its well harmonized profusion of brocades and tooled gold, extending to the background; in the quality of the draperies, especially of the beautifully cast kerchief; in the forms of the Child and the treatment of His hair, in a wistful spirit, foreign alike to Crivelli's beginnings, and the time when his decorative formulas harden into lifelessness—this picture finds a close parallel in the Brera triptych of 1482. The Vatican Madonna of the same date also shows striking similarities. Within a few years one side or the other Mr. Lehman's Madonna must have been painted.

It has some peculiar and interesting features of its own. The prowlike base of the throne is a deliberate archaism which recalls the Paradise of Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Allemagna in S. Pantaleone, 1444. It recurs in the fine altarpiece of these two painters in the Venice Academy. In incipient form it may be found in the Coronation of 1372, by Donato and Caterino, in the Querini-Stampalia. In the Lehman Madonna Crivelli is still in a stage where his eminently decorative ideal permits realistic experiments. Especially significant is the treatment of the niche—omitting the usual cloth of honor—with a shadow side, giving to the nude contours of the Child great saliency. This feature is less skilfully used in the early Madonna in Sir Frederick Cook's Collection (Fig. 24). For the nude Christ-child we have an analogy in the Madonna of the Victoria and Albert Museum which Rushforth dates about 1482. The *Ancona* of the National Gallery (1476) and that of Sir Frederick Cook's Collection affords also a good parallel for the throne, which is, however, in both cases taken from the awkwardly high view point that is characteristic of Crivelli's early works. Mr. Lehman's picture may perhaps best be regarded as the ultimate refinement of a type represented successively in the Cook's, Brussels and Vatican



Fig. 21. CARLO CRIVELLI: VIRGIN AND CHILD.

Collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York.



Madonnas (Figs. 22, 23 and 25.) On this assumption the date would be 1482 or 1483.

This is Crivelli's period of highest accomplishment. He still feels beautifully about his themes—in none of his other Madonnas is the relation between Mother and Son so intimate. It is as if a little of Ambruogio Lorenzetti's spirit had persisted in the Marches, to be taken up by the eccentric visitant from Venice. The tense body of the Child is one of the most delightful and expressive bits of draughtsmanship in all Crivelli's art. For peculiar technical perfection nothing could excel the azure robe with its slightly raised pattern in pale gold. For the like of the severe yet elegant quality of the line we must go far afield, to such masterpieces of Far Eastern art as the paintings of the Horiuji shrine. But these Buddhistic masterpieces will not give us the lovely and eminently Christian wistfulness which is the glory of Crivelli's art in its transient perfection. Especially instructive for such as regard Crivelli as an unprogressive Master is the comparison of this Madonna with that in Sir Frederick Cook's Collection, which may be ten years the earlier of the two. It is as if Crivelli had taken the old design and revised it strenuously in the direction of simplicity, refinement and intimacy. Especially noteworthy is the exquisite fashion in which the silhouette of the Lehman Madonna is adjusted to the forms of the throne, and also the setting of the figure back by the apparently awkward base, which becomes a novel and agreeable element in the composition. But such comparisons would carry us far afield, and may better be made by the reader at his ease.

May I jot down certain surmises as to Crivelli's artistic origins which are suggested by this splendid work? Berenson, Rushworth and Lionello Venturi regard him as a product of the Murano school with a tinge of Paduan influence. Lionello Venturi in "Le Origini Della Pittura Veneziana" advanced, in addition, the interesting hypothesis that Crivelli's master was Antonio da Negroponte, and noted, as well, influences deriving from Jacopo Bellini. It seems to me that Jacopo may well have been the guiding light of Crivelli after his early beginnings. Jacopo, and his disciples Mantegna and Giambellino, with Crivelli, were, so far as I know, the only early Venetians who varied the traditional head covering of the Virgin—the mantle drawn up into a hood. Jacopo, as in the Louvre and Uffizi Madonnas, loved to give her a white kerchief, fringed and bordered.



Fig. 22. CARLO CRIVELLI :
VIRGIN AND CHILD.
Brussels Gallery.



Fig. 23. CARLO CRIVELLI :
VIRGIN AND CHILD.
Brera Gallery, Milan.



Fig. 24. CARLO CRIVELLI :
VIRGIN AND CHILD.
Collection of Sir F. Cook, Richmond.



Fig. 25. CARLO CRIVELLI :
VIRGIN AND CHILD, 1482.
Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Precisely this we find in the Lehman Madonna and in the altarpieces of the National Gallery and Brera. It may also be remarked that in narrative pieces, predella panels, and Mrs. Gardner's St. George—Crivelli invariably betrays the leading of Jacopo. The rather close decorative approximation of Giambellino, in the Trivulzio Madonna, with Crivelli may seem worthy of note in this connection. Mantegna in the early Madonna at Berlin affords, in the festoons and otherwise, suggestive analogies with the Lehman Madonna. And since, in the Verona Madonna, dated 1466, Crivelli's affiliation with Gregorio Schiavone seems patent, it may well be asked if the formula—pupil of Gregorio Schiavone, eclectic imitator of the Muranese, developed under the influence of Jacopo Bellini—would not account for every feature of Crivelli's apparently uniform yet actually quite varied accomplishment.

TAPESTRIES FROM DESIGNS BY BERNAERT VON ORLEY

BY far the larger number of mediaeval tapestries originate in Flanders, which was the true centre of the craft of weaving at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. As frequently happens in the history of the artistic crafts, the golden age follows at a distance of several decades the period of fullest development in the higher arts of painting and sculpture, since a certain interval always must elapse before the original ideas of great artists are comprehended and worked out by masters of the craft. The labels frequently borne by Flemish tapestries in collections to the effect that they were made from designs by Rogier van der Weyden, Memling or even Van Eyck, are mostly incorrect, as the tapestries date from a period long after the lifetime of these painters, and at that time it was not the custom to work from patterns fifty years old. There have been made, however, especially in Burgundy, Arras and Tournai, a number of large tapestries dating from about the period of Rogier van der Weyden, about the middle of the fifteenth century, but these specimens, coarse in technique and monumental in composition, have little in common with the refined fabrics, executed in gold and silver thread, which are the pride of some of the best collections in the country.

All, together with numerous other works of similar style, belong to the end of the fifteenth or the first third of the sixteenth century. The highest point of technique, and the manufacture of mediaeval tapestries on a large scale, belong within this period, that in which early Flemish painting, submitting to Italian influence, was already nearing its decadence. While it would be difficult to assemble more than a few dozen Flemish tapestries of a date prior to 1470, the fabrics that have been preserved from between 1500-1530, especially from the looms of Brussels and Antwerp, are numbered by the hundreds.

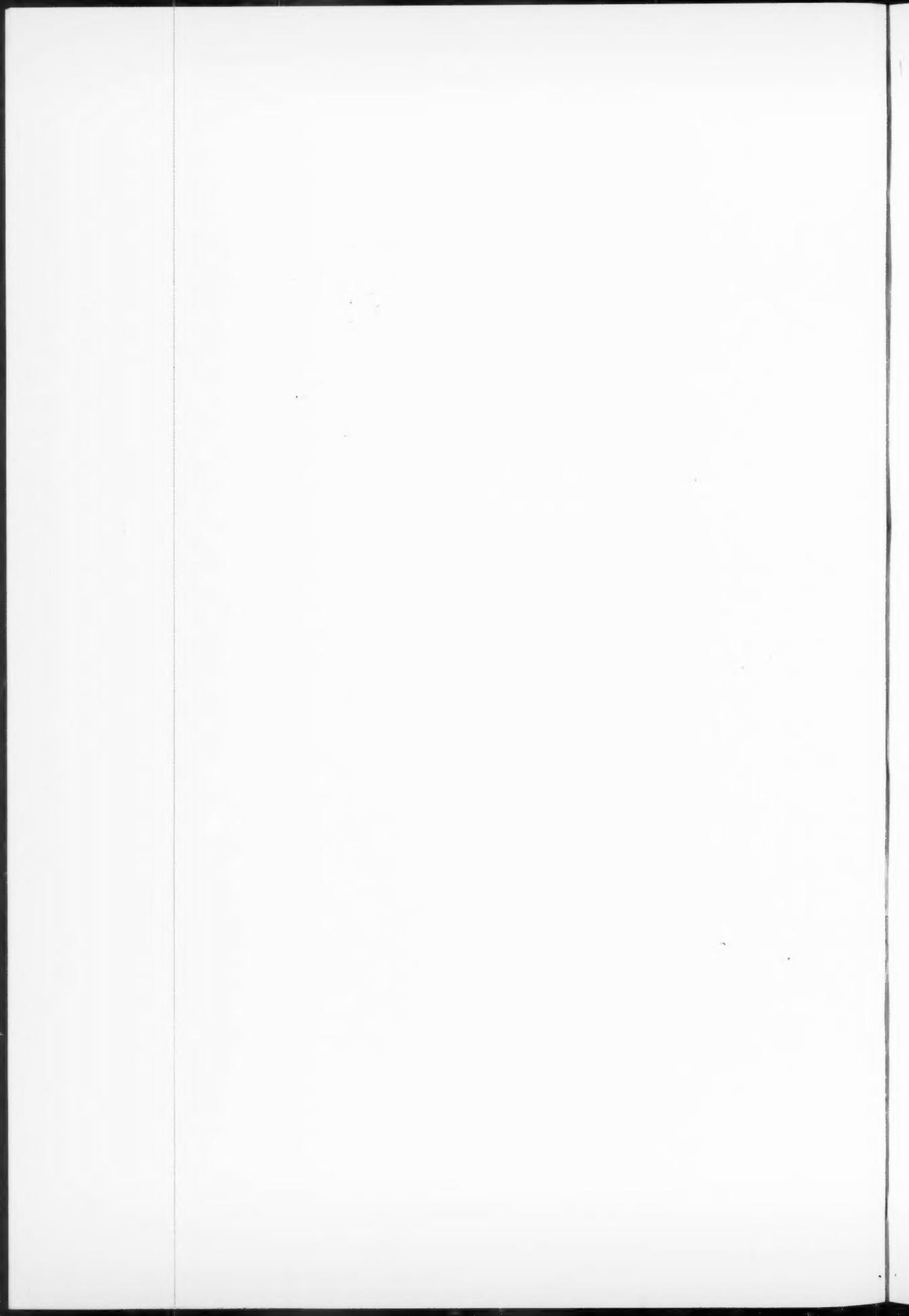
Only in rare cases is it possible to attach the name of a well-known artist to the designs for these tapestries. Bernaert von Orley is an exception. A great number of compositions for the Brussels work, as Dr. Max I. Friedländer has pointed out,¹ derive from him. Orley was court painter at the Brussels court, and his patroness, the Vice Regent Margaretha, aunt of Charles V, not only claimed him for altar paintings and portraiture, but also laid upon him the task of making tapestry designs, especially, it would seem, when a gift for the Spanish court was in question. A document has been preserved, according to which Margaretha commissioned Peter Panne-maker in Brussels to deliver two tapestries with scenes from the Passion. As Orley was present when the contract was drawn, it is more than probable that he was responsible for the production of the cartoons.

Orley was one of those transition masters between Gothic and Renaissance, who at first followed the native tradition founded by Van Eyck and Rogier, but presently, dazzled by the successes of the Italian masters, turned toward the imitation of Michel Angelo and his school. While during his first period, until about 1515, he created compositions of serene and almost lyric sentiment—one of the most charming, a Madonna surrounded by angels, is owned by Mr. Altman in New York—he later became dramatic, strongly agitated, and intentionally passionate. Accomplished as these compositions are in drawing, they no longer awaken the warm emotion conveyed by the naive religious works of his predecessors. Skilful calculation takes the place of spiritual inspiration. This appears more strongly in the paintings than in the tapestries, in which the artist's merits practically alone assert themselves. Here a distinct, intelligent

1. In his invaluable article on this artist in *Jahrbuch der kgl. preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1909.



Fig. 26. THE LAST SUPPER, FLEMISH TAPESTRY ABOUT 1525.
Collection of Mr. Philip Lehman, New York.



method of drawing, a clear balanced grouping, and plastic modelling count for more than the expression of the single figures. Monumental effects and stilted gestures, which would perhaps seem overpowering in small easel pictures, are here in place. The weavers, with their incomparable technique and their masterly taste in color, do their part in giving life and light to the design. The enchanting effects, which they created by the use of gold and silver, were not again attained in the later centuries.

In recent years a number of these masterpieces of weaving have passed into American collections. I mention here six tapestries which undoubtedly are from designs by Orley, and which, with two exceptions, were described by Dr. Friedländer while they were still in European possession.

The beautiful tapestry with the Worship of the Kings, formerly in the Hainauer collection in Berlin, now adorns the Renaissance room in the house of Mr. Altman in New York. It is a small work, but one of the utmost brilliancy in color and technique. Somewhat larger, but still under the usual size of tapestries of this period, is that depicting the Entombment of Christ, which was discussed in detail by Dr. Friedländer, and compared with the painting by Orley in Brussels of the same subject. The tapestry which comes from the collection of the Duke of Berwick and Alba at Madrid, is now owned by Mr. Marsden I. Perry of Providence. It is the only one of which one can say with certainty that Orley himself designed the border, together with the central field, since in most tapestries of this period the border was the property of the studios and was used at will by any of them. In this same collection belonging to the Duke of Alba were found originally three of the most magnificent tapestries from Orley's designs: two Crucifixions, one in the possession of Mr. George Blumenthal in New York; the other was sold from the Dollfus collection in Paris and acquired by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. From the same series to which the latter belongs comes a third, a representation of the Lord's Supper, which recently passed into the collection of Mr. Philip Lehman of New York (Fig. 26). Mr. Blumenthal's tapestry, judging from the style, might be somewhat earlier than the other two, about 1515, and shows less markedly the characteristics of Orley's later style; the gestures are more temperate and the colors more varied. The others might be connected with that document of 1520 which names Peter Pannemaker as manufacturer,

but it is difficult to decide whether these or the replicas in the castle at Madrid have the first claim. Originally at least four scenes from the Passion appear to have been in existence; to the representation of the Last Supper and the Crucifixion belong also a scene with Christ on the Mount of Olives and one of Christ bearing the Cross, with the same border, which also were found in the Alba collection. In the castle at Madrid are repetitions of the Christ on the Mount of Olives, the Crossbearing and the Lord's Supper, with other borders, the first two again being identical. The Last Supper is said to be executed by Pannemaker and, in 1531, to have been in the possession of Charles V. Probably the examples in Madrid are the tapestries originally ordered by the Vice Regent Margaretha, but the incomparable technique of those from the Alba collection make it seem that these also originated in the famous Pannemaker studio at about the same time (1520-30).

The only tapestries from a design by Orley, among those known to me in America, which show no interweaving of gold and silver, are the five representing different months, charming genre scenes, formerly owned by Mrs. Ffoulke in Washington, now in the possession of Mrs. E. H. Harriman in New York. With the exception of one of these and the one in Mr. Altman's collection none were known to be in American possession at the time of Dr. Friedländer's article in 1909—an evidence of how important, even in the field of textiles alone, the acquisitions of American collectors have become during the past few years.

ON THE BEGINNING OF MAJOLICA IN TUSCANY

IN the field of the artistic crafts, as in that of painting, interest in primitive art has increased during the past few years. Collectors and museums are beginning to esteem the Italian majolica of the fifteenth and late fourteenth centuries as highly as the lustre ware of Gubbio and Deruta or the gaily colored wares from the factories of Faenza and Urbino. The same predilection is felt for them as against the wares of the sixteenth century as exists for paintings of the time of Masaccio and Ghirlandaio in comparison with those of Raphael's time. Simplicity and mass in form, intensity and unity of color, ornament as yet unskillfully employed but naive

and expressive, stand in place of the refinement in color and drawing and the accomplished technique of the later period. The historical equals the artistic interest. In the domain of ceramic art after its decline in the middle ages, Italy, as in other things, took the lead of all European countries, and became the model for the Northern nations, France, Germany and the Netherlands, in which the art of faience began with imitation of Italian majolica. The early Italian ceramic has all the best qualities of a young art. It is not free from borrowed characteristics, on the one side it derives from the highly developed ceramic of the Near East, on the other from the equally Oriental type of the Spanish Moresque faience pottery. On the other hand, it is as explicitly personal, and as direct in the translation of nature, as only a young art can venture to be. Although the ornament is chiefly Gothic, and the repetition of the colors is somewhat mechanical, yet the execution of every piece betrays the strong artistic individuality of temperament known only to the self-conscious Renaissance.

The appreciation of this art is due primarily to Dr. Wilhelm Bode, who, twenty years ago, when none as yet cared for it, acquired excellent examples for public and private collections in Germany and published articles on the subject. He has now brought these articles together in a work of fundamental importance and has depicted, in admirable illustrations, the development of early Italian majolica, at the same time arranging the groups in accordance with the different kinds of manufacture. This is the first time such an arrangement has been satisfactorily accomplished. He separates the early attempts of the fourteenth century, executed in green and manganese on a grey ground, according to the principal centres of production, Rome, Siena, Orvieto and Florence. In the Roman pieces is shown an occasional relationship to Carlovingian and through this to classic pottery. Also in the majolica which was found in the excavations at Orvieto, the examples decorated in relief now and then recall early Etruscan art, while the typical productions disclose Oriental influence only. Siena produced potteries related to these, but with a preponderance of geometric ornament. To this place, and to Orvieto, has been ascribed nearly all the majolica decorated in green known up to the present time. Dr. Bode has demonstrated, however, that Florence distinguished herself in this field of early ceramics as

1. Wilhelm Bode: *Die Anfänge der Majolikakunst Toscana's.* Berlin, J. Bard, 1911.

in other fields, and that all subsequent development started there. In that city originated the great bulging vases with twisted handles and the few huge bowls that have been preserved, the largest of which measure a half metre in diameter. The splendid deep blue specimens of majolica, made chiefly for the hospitals Santa Maria Nuova and della Scala, are related to these earliest green specimens in Florence that date from about the middle of the fifteenth century; then follow the eccentric imitations of Hispano-Moresque faience which were carried on in Florence during the last third of the fifteenth century and, with the discovery of new color tones, the three and four color pieces, which gradually led to the work of the famous Florentine manufactory Caffagiollo, and to the Faentine majolica of about 1500.

The earliest forms of Italian pottery are but seldom found in American collections. Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan alone possesses a considerable number, chiefly pieces which were found in Orvieto and assembled by A. Imbert who has published them collectively. Some pieces, examples of Roman, Orvietan, and Sienese art, acquired by gift from Dr. Bode, are in the Metropolitan Museum. Here also is found the dish shown in the illustration (Fig. 27) with the representation of a fish, which comes, indeed, from Orvieto, but has its origin possibly in Florence. The fish motive in this form comes from the Orient, and, in fact, originates in China, where we find it first in bronzes of the Han dynasty, then in the bowls of the Sung period, especially those of celadon. From here it extends to Persia, Egypt and Spanish-Moresco, which it probably reached by way of Italy.

A very distinguished specimen, one of the most important examples of the early Florentine pottery, is the monumental vase in possession of Mrs. Philip M. Lydig in New York (Fig. 28). The decoration is in green, edged with manganese, and shows a curious mingling of Oriental and Gothic elements. The deer, which is represented on both sides, is probably taken from an Islamic design, perhaps occurring on some fabric, while the foliage and rosettes have a Gothic character. The vase, which dates from the first half of the fifteenth century, is illustrated in Dr. Bode's book as still in the possession of St. Bardini's in Florence. The number of Florentine vases of this kind that have been preserved is extremely limited, and probably would not exceed a dozen.



Fig. 27. DISH, FLORENCE OR ORVIETO (?). First half of XV Century.
Metropolitan Museum, New York.



Fig. 28. VASE, FLORENCE. First half of XV Century.
Collection of Mrs. Philip M. Lydig, New York.



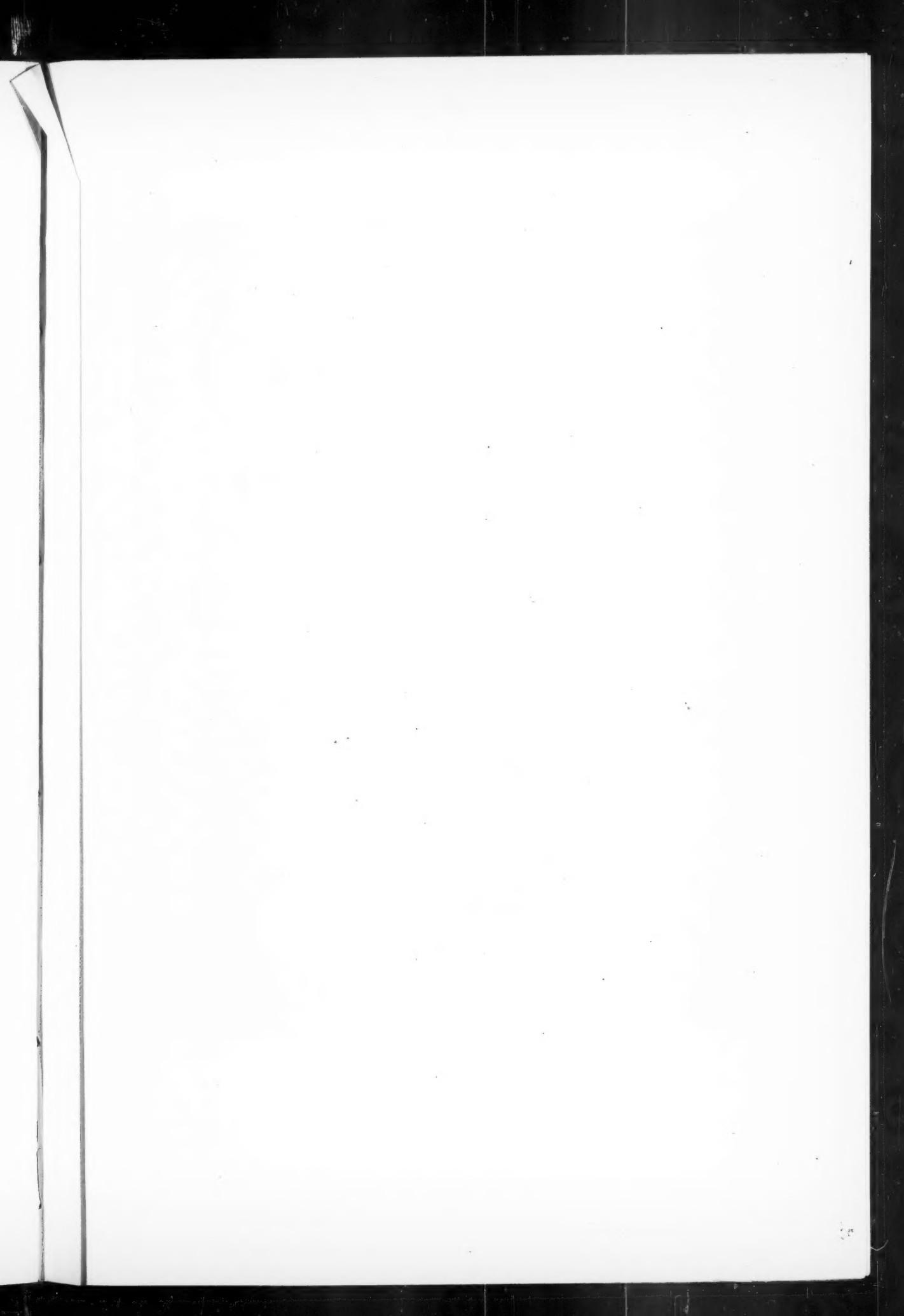




Fig. 1. ANTONIO MORO: PORTRAIT OF A MAN.
Collection of Mrs. Philip M. Lydig, New York.